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(Class of 1814),

LATE PRESIDENT OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

Received 22 March, 1875.

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THE WORKS

OF

JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

VOL. I.

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THE WORKS

OF

JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

WITH

SOME ACCOUNT OF HIS LIFE,

SUMMARY OF EACH DISCOURSE, NOTES, &c.

BY THE REV. T. S. HUGHES, B.D.

VOL. I.

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1875, March 22.
Bequest of
James Walker, D.D., L.L.D.
(H.U. 1814.)
President of Harv. Univ.

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TO

THE RIGHT REVEREND

JAMES HENRY MONK, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER,

WHOSE ZEALOUS DISCHARGE OF HIS DUTIES,

WHILST DEAN OF PETERBOROUGH,

IS AN EARNEST OF WHAT MAY BE EXPECTED FROM

HIM IN A HIGHER STATION,

THIS MEMOIR

OF AN ILLUSTRIOUS AND EXEMPLARY PRELATE,

IS INSCRIBED BY HIS LORDSHIP'S

FAITHFUL FRIEND AND SERVANT,

T. S. HUGHES.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

The republication of Jeremy Taylor's Sermons obliges me, in conformity with the general plan of this work, to produce a biographical memoir of their author. This must be my apology for entering on a field which has been so advantageously occupied by one, who in patient investigation, clear reasoning, just criticism, elegant analysis, and devotional eloquence, can scarcely be surpassed. I would not, therefore, have it imagined for a moment, that I have the presumption to bring forward my sketch in competition with the noble portrait of Jeremy Taylor left us by Bishop Heber. I am rather bound to confess the great assistance which I have received from his delightful work, on which I have principally relied for the truth of facts, though it is not for facts alone that I shall appear his debtor; and that probably oftener than I have acknowleged it: for sentiments like his, when once impressed on the mind, do not easily pass from off the memory, but obtrude themselves on

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the writer, who suspects not the source from which they arise, whilst they insinuate themselves into his composition under the guise of originality. I have only to remark, that the edition of Taylor's Life by Bishop Heber, to which references are made, is that published separately from his works, in two vols. 12mo.

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BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

OF THE

RIGHT REV. JEREMY TAYLOR, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

CHAPTER I.

PROMINENT as the university of Cambridge stands in the annals of literature, science, and theology, the town has not been remarkable for the production of extraordinary talent; though perhaps we may consider it as rescued from reproach on this head by the illustrious subject of our present memoir, whose birth took place there in the month of August, 1613.*

* He was baptised in Trinity church, on the 15th of August; and according to the register of that parish, was the third son of Nathaniel Taylor and Mary Dean, who were married on the 13th of Oct. 1605. There are, according to Bishop Heber, two houses which contend for the honor of his birth, a curious old tenement in the Petty-Cury, and the Bull Inn, opposite Trinity church. With regard to this latter, I must own that I have not, in my inquiries, met with any one who has heard of such a tradition attached to it; the house in the Petty-Cury seems to be universally acknowleged as the birth-place of this great man; though the circumstance of its being

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His father, Nathaniel Taylor, was by trade a barber: an occupation which then ranked higher than it does in our days, because some inferior branches of the practice of surgery were attached to it. The family, however, was one of respectability, at Frampton on Severn, in the county of Gloucester; and though it could not reckon high and mighty lords of the land among its branches, yet had it produced one scion, that shed a brighter lustre on his posterity, than if his brows had been encircled by a ducal coronet, or than if he had been knighted on the tented field by the hand of a Plantagenet. This hero was the celebrated Christian martyr, Dr. Rowland Taylor, of Hadleigh, a man worthy in all respects, that from his ashes a phœnix like the subject of our memoir should arise.

Bishop Heber justly remarks, "that there is nothing more beautiful in the whole beautiful Book of the Martyrs, than the account which Fox has given of Rowland Taylor, whether in discharge of his duty as a parish priest, or in the more arduous moments when he was called on to bear his cross in the cause of religion. His warmth of heart, his simplicity of manners, the total absence of the false stimulants of enthusiasm or pride, and the abundant overflow of better and holier feelings, are delineated, no less than his courage in death, and the buoyant spirit with which he encountered it, with a spirit only inferior to the eloquence and dignity of the Phædon." In fact, there are many circumstances in the life and death of this martyr, besides his constancy in suffering for the truth, which form a remarkable parallel with those of the Athenian sage: to

in the parish of St. Andrew the Less, whilst the father of Jeremy Taylor was churchwarden of Trinity parish, at the time of his birth, throws some doubt and intricacy on the subject.

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instance his general contempt of wealth; his constant personal intercourse with the people; his earnest and grave rebukes to sinners of all degrees; the stout opposition which he made to idolatrous practices and false doctrines; his intrepid conduct, presence of mind, and acute reasoning before his judges; his patience of imprisonment, with all its pains and inconveniences; the endeavors which he made to support the spirits of others, instead of looking for support himself; his refusal to fly from the power of persecution; his pleasantries on the subject of death, and his own terrible situation. But oh! how the last scenes of the Christian saint rise in sublimity and interest above those of the heathen philosopher! Witness his courageous and affectionate parting from his family, and the parental admonitions, which he dictated with such simplicity and feeling. Witness the preservation, even in his glove, of that small pittance which had been sent to alleviate the miseries of his imprisonment, and the distribution of it among his sorrowing parishioners; witness his recollection of the poor, kind, and infirm couple, his old pensioners, and compare with it the last recollections of Socrates; witness that calm and gentle rebuke which he gave to the wretch who dared to disfigure and defile with blood his venerable face; witness, in short, his whole deportment at the stake, imitating, as far as frail humanity will permit, the meek resignation of his crucified Saviour. Nor is this said for the purpose of extolling one human being by the disparagement of another. The example of Socrates, tinged though it be with a few slight stains of error and imperfection, is the noblest instance by which profane history declares that God never left himself without a witness. But the Christian has motives and principles, hopes and fears, a moral code

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and perfect example, an imparted spirit and a sanctifying grace, which enable him to trample on the world and the world's idols with greater courage than reason and philosophy can inspire; he has a light shining within and without him, to which that of natural religion is as a taper compared with the meridian sun. He knows that his Redeemer liveth; and although worms may destroy, or fire consume this body, yet in his flesh he shall see God.

As the estate of Dr. Rowland Taylor, no less than his zeal in preaching the reformed religion, instigated the bloody-minded Gardiner to compass his destruction, we cannot expect to find his descendants blessed with the riches of this world; but it is consoling to reflect that the righteous was not here forsaken, and that his seed was raised above the condition of those who beg their bread; for Nathaniel, the father of Jeremy Taylor, was not only churchwarden of his parish, but had received an education above that of the middle ranks in general; since he was able to instruct his children in grammar and the mathematics.*

Very soon after Jeremy Taylor's birth, Stephen Perse, M.D. senior fellow of Caius College, by a clause in his will, dated September 27, 1615, bequeathed certain property in charge to his executors, for the purpose of establishing a free grammar-school in Cambridge: the same liberal benefactor also founded a number of scholarships, and six fellowships, at Caius College, with a preference to those who had been educated at least three years at his school.

To this latter place of education, over which a Mr.

* This is known from a letter of Taylor himself to his tutor Mr. Bachcroft. Mr. Jones's Mss. quoted by Bishop Heber, p. 8.

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Lovering then presided, Jeremy Taylor was sent when only three years old; and at the early age of thirteen, as it appears from the admittance-book at Caius College, he entered as a sizar there, and was soon elected a scholar on Mr. Perse's foundation, Mr. Bachcroft being his tutor.*

There can be no doubt of his having made, even at this time, extraordinary proficiency in learning, whether we consider the proofs which he so quickly gave of high attainments, or the early age at which he was thought fit to enter the university, being at least two years before the average time, even in those days when the studies of the under graduates were only considered as preparatory to those which followed the degree of bachelor of arts; and when a severe examination for that of M.A. merely completed what was deemed a common university education.

Classical literature seems to have been studied at this time with an ardor and assiduity to which succeeding ages afford no parallel; for the human mind was now completely roused from that night of monkish ignorance which had so long oppressed it. Accurate criticism, indeed, and niceties of language, were unstudied and almost unnoticed; but the works of ancient authors were diligently sifted, and committed to the memory, which faculty by this constant practice was increased to a prodigious extent. We find an enthusiastic veneration for antiquity predominating in all the writings of these times, disfigured and obscured as they are by innumerable quotations which were then considered as their chief ornament and illustra-

* In his admission under that gentleman, Aug. 18, 1626, he is stated to be 15 years old: but this is a mistake, probably arising from the wish of his parents that he should appear nearer to the average age of those who were then sent to the university.

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tion. Lord Coke boasts, with a sort of triumph, that he has illustrated the knotty points and nice distinctions of the law, with three hundred extracts from the Mantuan bard: and if theologians more than others erred in this preposterous use of ancient lore, they may draw some excuse from the services which classical literature had in its revival rendered to the great cause of reformation. Hence the auxiliary was continued even to the prejudice of the principal; or rather its forces were employed in a department foreign to their nature; for they were not kept as pioneers to theology, where their usefulness never can be questioned; but were introduced into the sacred ranks, to fight side by side with Christian doctrines and apostolical precepts, whose purity was thus contaminated without any authority being gained.

No stronger evidence can be adduced to corroborate these assertions than the writings of Jeremy Taylor himself, whose finest works, and those most adapted to popular instruction, are darkened and disfigured by a vain-glorious display of classical shreds and patches, many of them drawn from those sources of impurity which the apostle forbids to be once named among saints. So prevailing is the force of habit and fashion! For if ever there was a man who cultivated purity in heart and mind, as well as practice, that man, as far as we can judge, was Jeremy Taylor. But his passion for this department of learning was overwhelming, and his deglutition of ancient authors might have intitled him to the appellation of a literary shark.

Connected with classical literature, the Baconian philosophy about this time shed its rays on our university, chasing away the subtilties of scholastic sophistry, and introducing a new system of logic, calculated to strengthen

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and direct the intellectual faculties: and although mathematical science did not assume its proper rank among the studies of the place, until the illustrious Isaac Barrow had delivered his own lectures, and then placed his immortal successor in the Leucasian chair; yet it was by no means neglected, since we know, even from the statutes of Edward VI. that the elements of Euclid, the arithmetic of Tunstall and Cardan, together with astronomy, were enjoined as a necessary part of academical education previously to the degree of bachelor of arts.

Little is known of Taylor's university life, but there can be no doubt that he who had been well instructed by his father and schoolmaster, took proper advantage of the improving state of academical discipline; and though it does not appear from any existing documents, or from internal evidence in his writings, that he either prosecuted the study of mathematics, or entered zealously into the new system of inductive philosophy,* yet his own works exhibit abundant proofs of that intimate acquaintance with the Aristotelian logic, which is ascribed to him by one of his biographers.† Indeed there would be matter for surprise if the case were otherwise, since the exoteric writings of the great Stagyrite were at this time a principal branch of study, and an acquaintance with them was a prime requisite in scholastic exercises, when the encomiums that were given by the moderators to successful disputants occupied the place of our senate-house honors. Even Barrow himself, when he was Greek professor, and would have intro-

* The apparent neglect of Bacon's grand discoveries in Jeremy Taylor's works is reasonably accounted for by Bishop Heber, vol. i. p. 15.

† Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 792.

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duced his auditory to the more imaginative and sublime authors of Greece, was obliged to yield to expediency, and to substitute the Rhetoric of Aristotle for the noble tragedies of the bard of Colonos. *Superest, ut in unum Aristotelem spes nostræ, velut in sacram anchoram reclinent; ut ad Lycæum, ceu ad arcem sophiæ munitissimam, portum studii certissimum, sanctissimam aram disciplinæ, confugiamus.**

In 1630-1 Taylor took his first academical degree, when, according to the account of Dr. Rust, he was immediately chosen fellow of his college. I am at a loss to conceive what could have induced Taylor's latest biographers to entertain any suspicion of this fact, in the face of a college document, published by Archdeacon Bonney, the authenticity of which is not at all weakened by a few inaccuracies that may be detected in it.† By this document it appears that Jeremy Taylor in February, 1635, spontaneously vacated a *Perse* fellowship. Now nothing could

* See Life of Barrow in this series, vol. vi. p. 1.

† Such as that where Taylor is said to have been nominated by Archbishop Laud to a fellowship at St. John's College, Oxford, instead of All-Souls. St. John's having been Laud's own college, the mistake is very natural, and tends rather to confirm than to weaken the evidence. In the appendix may be seen a correct copy of this document, with which I was favored by the present learned master of Caius College, who has not the smallest doubt of its authenticity; nor had I myself when I inspected with him the very curious Ms. from which the document itself is taken. This Ms. is intitled "Annales Collegii de Gonvile et Caius ab anno 1347," the year of its foundation; and an event is recorded which occurred in 1648, though the annals about that time are not so full. In that part of the Ms. whence the document is taken, there appears not the slightest trace of false insertion or of falsification.

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be more likely than that the society should elect a scholar on Dr. Perse's foundation, into one of his fellowships as soon as the statutes would permit, especially when he had so strong a claim on them by his moral and literary merits: nor can we be surprised at Taylor's relinquishing that fellowship, which confers not on its possessor the privileges of a foundation-fellow, and has but a small income attached to it, just at the time when he entered at Oxford, and had the certainty of Archbishop Laud's patronage. But this question is set at rest by the name of Jeremy Taylor appearing frequently in what is called the absence-book of the college,* kept to note down the exit and return of all scholars and fellows, whose stipend partly depends on their time of residence.

So indefatigably did Taylor pursue his academical studies, and so wisely apply them to theology, their best end and aim, that, like the celebrated Archbishop Usher, he was admitted into holy orders before he had completed his twenty-first year. About the same time (1633) he took the degree of master of arts, and was soon afterwards called from the university to a scene which allowed larger scope for his talents, and introduced him to a great and munificent patron.

In the times of which we are now treating, the universities served the purpose of large schools, for the education of youth, whose studies were proportionate to their years, and amongst whom discipline was actually enforced by corporeal punishment. Under such a state of things, the

* On the 8th of Nov. 1633, Taylor's name first appears in the list of fellows. By its last appearance we find that he returned to college, Oct. 13, 1635, and left it next day. *Mr. Taylor rediit* 13°. *Octobr. exiit* 14°. *Octobr.*

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colleges were so crowded with students, that several of them were obliged to occupy one set of apartments, and were thence called chamber-fellows, or *chums*.* About this period, one Risden, who had been a chum with Taylor, engaged him to come up to London, to be his substitute for a time as lecturer in St. Paul's cathedral. "Here he preached," says Dr. Rust, "to the admiration and astonishment of his auditory; and by his florid and youthful beauty, his sweet and pleasant air, his sublime and raised discourses, he made his hearers take him for some young angel descended from the visions of glory." The fame of his eloquence having at length attracted the attention of Laud, that prelate became desirous of hearing him, and accordingly sent for the young divine to preach before him at Lambeth. This office he executed much to the archbishop's satisfaction, who "observing the tartness of his discourse, the quickness of his parts, the modesty and meekness of his temper, and the becomingness of his personage and carriage,"† commended him highly, but took occasion to observe, that he seemed too young for the office which he was then filling in London. Taylor, with the vivacity of youth, "humbly begged his grace to pardon that fault, and promised, if he lived, he would amend it." His considerate patron, however, wishing to afford him better opportunities for study and improvement, than a course of town-preaching would admit of, determined to place him "where," as Lloyd observes, "he might have

* Even a master of arts, or a fellow, was not always allowed to have a set of rooms appropriated to himself. The statutes of Emmanuel College expressly provide against the putting of more than four chums into one set of apartments.

† Lloyd's Memoirs, p. 702.

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time, books, and company, to complete himself in those several parts of learning, into which he had made so fair an entrance."

Laud being officially visitor of All-Souls, in Oxford, supposed, in those times of arrogant authority on the one hand, and passive obedience on the other, that his wishes would be law with the college, as soon as expressed: accordingly, he determined to procure for Taylor a fellowship on that splendid foundation. He sent him, therefore, to Oxford, where he was admitted at University College, and incorporated as master of arts. The impression on Laud's mind was, that this admission *ad eundem*, would satisfy the college statutes, which require candidates for a fellowship to be of three years standing in the university.* Three days afterwards, the archbishop addressed the following letter to the warden and fellows of All-Souls:—

"*To the Warden and Fellows of All-Souls Coll., Oxford. Salutem in Christo.*

"These are on the behalf of an honest man and a good scholar; Mr. Osborn, being to give over his fellowship, was with me at Lambeth, and, I thank him, freely proffered me the nomination of a scholar to succeed in his place. Now, having seriously deliberated with myself touching this business, and being willing to recommend such an one to you as you might thank me for, I am resolved to pitch on Mr. Jeremiah Taylour, of whose abilitys and sufficiencys every ways I have received very good assurance. And I do hereby heartily pray you to give him all furtherance by yourself and the fellows at the next election, not doubting but that he will approve himself a worthy and learned member of your society. And, though he has had his breeding, for the most part, in the other

* Laud therefore supposed, or intended, that this admission should intitle him to all the advantages he would have had by regularly proceeding to his degrees at Oxford.

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university, yet I hope that shall be no prejudice to him, in regard that he is incorporated into Oxford, (ut sit eodem ordine, gradu, &c.,) and admitted into University College. Neither can I learn that there is any thing in your local statutes against it. I doubt not but you will use him with so fair respects, as befits a man of his rank and learning, for which I shall not fail to give you thanks. So I leave him to your kindness, and rest

"Your loving friend,

"WILLIAM CANT.

"Lambeth House, October 23, 1635."

The perusal of this epistle will not raise Laud in the estimation of any honest man. It may be said, indeed, that he only followed the fashion of the times, in the assumption of extraordinary powers: but too much stress must not be laid on this argument; for however bad the times may be, a really great and good man will endeavor to lead, rather than be led by them.

The haughty prelate, however, met with an opposition which he little expected, from the warden, Dr. Sheldon, who afterwards occupied the archiepiscopal throne, and was a munificent benefactor to the university: but the fellows were found either more pliable, or more alive to the merits and eligibility of the candidate. The majority of these having given their votes in his favor, and persisting in their determination, no election could take place; by which means the right of nomination devolved on the archbishop, who appointed Taylor to the vacant fellowship on the 14th January, 1636. It is satisfactory to know that Sheldon, though conscientiously opposed to the appointment, became sincerely reconciled to the new fellow, who had been thus forced on his acceptance; nay, that he generously relieved his necessities when he became in-

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volved in those disasters which overwhelmed both church and state.

According to Wood's account, Taylor profited greatly by the leisure, the books, and other advantages thus afforded him, and was also much admired by the university for his excellent *casuistical* preaching. If so, the discourses which excited this admiration have not been yet submitted to the press, and may perhaps be still lurking in some obscure recess; for there is but one amongst his published works, preached at this time, intitled to such an epithet; and that is the celebrated sermon delivered from the pulpit of St. Mary's, Oxford, on the 5th of November, 1638.

Taylor had about this time been subjected to the calumnious charge of being secretly inclined to the Roman church; a charge which was revived at other times during his life, though distinctly denied by him, and refuted by the constant tenor of his life. The report probably arose from his friendship with a Franciscan friar, known by the assumed title of Francis a Sancta Clara,* whose intimacy with Laud himself was made one of the articles of that prelate's impeachment: nor, in those times of puritanical frensy, could a man be surprised at such an accusation, when patronised by the archbishop, against whom his inveterate enemies constantly urged this untenable charge.† Certainly, if Taylor entertained any idea of his patron's attachment to the Romanists, or had the slightest wish of

* His real name was Davenport.

† Laud's defence at his trial, and his solemn declaration on the scaffold, are sufficient to convince any candid man of his innocence on this score.

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conciliating their favor himself, he took the strangest method possible to please either party, by preaching a powerful argumentative discourse against their tenets, and publishing it with a dedication to the archbishop.

Wood declares "That in this sermon several things were inserted against the papists by the *Vice-chancellor*, which gave such offence to them, that they rejected him with scorn; particularly to his friend, Francis a Sancta Clara, who told him that Taylor afterwards expressed some sorrow for what he had done." On this passage it may be sufficient to remark, that the sermon itself is opposed to the Romish tenets in its whole contexture and design; that it bears no mark of any interpolation; and contains no more invective than the subject naturally demanded. Nor was Taylor's character such as to induce us to think that he would adopt the sentiments of any other person, especially against his own opinions; still less will that character permit us to give any credence to what the Franciscan friar says about his repentance.

Taylor appears not to have been a regular resident at the university during the four years in which he enjoyed his fellowship. On the 23d of March, 1637-8, he was presented to the rectory of Uppingham, in the county of Rutland, by Dr. Juxon, bishop of London; the duties of which, added to those of his chaplaincy to the archbishop, and that to the king, which had lately been conferred on him, necessarily withdrew him from academic retirement to more active scenes: moreover, among the ascetic notions of moral discipline which in some measure distinguished him, that of celibacy was not one; nor was he insensible to that passion which refines all the rest, and cheers the spirit of man as he toils over the arduous steeps of life.

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He did not long therefore keep his fellowship; but when his preferment enabled him to support a family, he entered into his first matrimonial engagement* with a lady whose name was Phœbe Langsdale, and who probably resided with her mother in his neighborhood. By her he had three sons, two of whom grew up to manhood; whilst the third, named William, probably after the archbishop, died and was buried at Uppingham, a short time before his mother, on the 28th of May, 1642.† Though Taylor was twice married, and there is every reason to believe that both engagements were founded in true affection, we find scarcely the slightest allusion to his wives in any part of his correspondence; but from whatever cause this silence may have arisen, it cannot be attributed to any want of mutual esteem, when we reflect on the inimitable picture of conjugal happiness which he has drawn in his two Sermons on "the Marriage Ring," discourses which take the highest rank among treatises of fine morality, sanctified by Christian principles, that our literature affords. If these noble sermons, altered a little and adapted to modern taste, were sometimes delivered from our pulpits, the advantages thence resulting to society might be extremely great.

No documents remain to show the manner in which Taylor executed his sacred office at Uppingham: but the whole tenor of his life, the exalted piety that breathes through his writings, the love which he bore the church, the energy he exerted in its defence; above all, the complete and admirable precepts which in the discharge of his episcopal functions he delivered to his clergy, respecting

* May 27, 1639.

† Mr. Jones's Ms. quoted by Bishop Heber, vol. i. p. 31.

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their spiritual duties; all these things vouch for his own faithful discharge of them. His attention to the less important and secular concerns of his parish was shown by the interest which he always took in the election of annual officers; in the care with which he entered various particulars in the registers with his own hand; among which is a letter from Dr. Towers, bishop of Peterborough, concerning the erection of an organ, together with a list of books, vestments, vessels, and other costly furniture belonging to the church, all of which, from the circumstance of their dedication in Peterborough cathedral, appear to have been a gift from himself: nor is it improbable that this zeal for adorning the house of God, which has excited a sneer even in the present day,* was an additional cause why the puritans of his own times accused him of an inclination to popery, as it certainly was a principal one among those which drew down their wrath against his great patron. Those times indeed were distinguished by doctrines and events, on which it is even at this day hazardous to comment, unless a writer be prepared to stem the tide of prejudice and party; for if the unconstitutional and insincere conduct of Charles, as well as the proud, ambitious, uncompromising spirit of Laud and others of the royal party, was utterly unjustifiable, so also was that of the reformers: nay, the counter-tyranny of the puritans, their duplicity in using the garb of religion to cover their own vile purposes, their intolerance and fanaticism, their eagerness in seizing on the spoils of the church, and their blind zeal in the destruction of every institution respected for its character or venerable from its antiquity, were

* See Eclectic Review for Dec. 1816.

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more odious, and more hostile to the public welfare, than the open undisguised tyranny of monarchical power; and they afford a practical lesson of what may be at any time expected from the uncontrolled dominion of a democratical faction. The catastrophe indeed which followed the violent encroachment made on monarchical principles in the days of Charles, was so terrific, that we are called on to pause awhile in our narrative, and endeavor to trace its origin, and to prevent, if possible, its repetition. It is manifest that popular encroachment is again meditated; and if it be true that such, carried to excess, will undermine and overthrow the constitution, it cannot be denied that its progress should be watched with a jealous caution.

Whoever has attentively perused the annals of this country, must have remarked a power long resident in the executive branch of government, always ready to check the rising spirit of the commonalty. During the reigns of our Plantagenets and Tudors, this power consisted in the royal prerogative: and though we cannot but applaud the heroic efforts of our ancestors to uphold the rights of British subjects, when the world around them lay under a degrading despotism, yet it must be confessed that several of our sovereigns, particularly Elizabeth, exercised this prerogative in many ways for the advantage of the nation. But when the weak and bigoted race of the Stuarts ascended the throne, unacquainted with the manners and spirit of the people over whom they were called to preside, but imbued with such extravagant notions of the prerogative, as to consider it almost an emanation of Divinity, they exercised this divine right in so incautious, selfish, and tyrannical a manner, as to produce general indignation in the people, and induce them to break

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asunder the chain which bound together the different branches of the constitution.

Then came the republic, or the reign of the lower house of parliament, intent on spoliation, averse to ancient laws and establishments, postponing public business to matters of etiquette or vain babbling, and exercising their usurped dominion even more tyrannically than the sovereign had exerted his prerogative.

To this state of affairs succeeded the Protectorate of Cromwell, a ruler whose measures have perhaps never yet been contemplated, except through the mists of prejudice or partiality. They who think that a House of Commons necessarily contains all the means of good government, and that its decisions are the voice of truth, will see in Cromwell's frequent rejection of its interference and suppression of its power, nothing but the acts of one who wished to erect an absolute despotism on the ruins of all free institutions. But others, who put a more favorable construction on the motives that swayed that master-spirit of his age, will think it possible that he may have been actuated by higher and more patriotic views; that he may have been convinced by repeated trials and experience, that a popular government without due control, was, from its endless disputes, its incapacity to form a systematic plan, and its utter want of responsibility, the very worst that can be imagined.

This great man having died, probably of a broken heart, from the difficulties and vexations to which he was so peculiarly exposed, the House of Commons became again the predominant power; but the nation had been too much disgusted with its incapacity and violence, to submit long to its sway: the exiled family was recalled, and the people,

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in their foolish transports of joy, inconsiderately restored Charles II., without defining his prerogative or their own rights. Hence a train of abuses ensued, which soon sent his successor into a second banishment; and then the constitution was moulded into the form which it now wears.

At the Revolution, however, when the necessity was seen of upholding a power in the state, to check the encroachment of popular principles, and when the royal prerogative could no longer be exercised as in former times, this power was re-established under a disguised form, less offensive to view, but more dangerous perhaps in reality. What was formerly prerogative, now became influence; which, to speak the truth, was little less than patronage or bribery under a thousand different shapes. The evil effects of this principle have been felt in the many abuses that have insidiously crept into ever department of the state, corrupting morals, promoting injustice, and destroying good government; insomuch, that gradual reformation has been strenuously opposed, until the public confidence in public men is greatly weakened, and the national spirit roused by the necessity of some great change. What that change should be, it is difficult to say: the danger, however, is not likely to arise from leaving too much power in the hands of the sovereign, but too little; or of vesting the government once more in a House of Commons, subject to those impulses of passion, and that desire of violent innovation, which distinguished the Long Parliament. Happy then would it be, if this great question could be discussed freely and deliberately; if it could be separated from the spirit of party; if good and wise men could unite to correct manifest abuses, to preserve constitutional rights,

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and to lay down some great conservative principles which might support that just equilibrium in the state which ought always to exist, but has never yet existed except in theory.

CHAPTER II.

During the latter part of Taylor's residence in his parish of Uppingham, the attacks made by parliament on the hierarchy began to exceed all bounds of moderation, and the means used for its overthrow were most irregular and unprecedented. On the 31st of July, 1641, a committee was appointed to draw up articles of impeachment against thirteen of the bishops, for high crimes and misdemeanors; and though this charge was suffered to die away in silence, yet many offensive acts were carried against the established forms of worship; the most violent petitions against the bishops were got up; tumultuous meetings of the lowest rabble were encouraged to insult, and even to assault them, on their way to the House, until they were prevented from attending it by danger of their lives. Twelve prelates, who signed a protestation to the king on this account, were committed to the Tower; and finally, a bill to deprive the whole episcopal bench of their votes in parliament, was carried through both Houses, and received the royal assent.

The signing of this iniquitous bill was one of the three things which, according to Charles's own declaration, lay heaviest on his mind during the times of his solitude and sufferings.* He was induced by weak, though perhaps

* Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 493.

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faithful counsellors, to take this step, which lost him the confidence of his adherents, and disabled him from refusing any thing else to the demands of his opponents. Such indeed is the natural result of concession, when it is seen to arise from weakness, and not from principle. If a monarch would ameliorate the condition of his subjects with safety to himself, he must do it whilst he has the power of curbing their impatience, and of limiting their demands. If a general desire of change shall have been for a length of time unjustly and violently opposed, reluctant concession will only stimulate the hope of future acquisition; for the experience of evil itself is not so strong an organ of revolution, as is the anticipation of power. This the unfortunate king found to his cost; for the daily aggressions made on his prerogative, and the insolence of his enemies, soon increased to such a pitch, that he took the resolution of quitting his capital, and of appealing to the sword.

The rugged narrow path of duty now lay open before Taylor; and he was not a man to decline it. Released in some degree from domestic ties, (for it appears that he had buried his wife at Uppingham)* he hastened to join the king at Oxford, anxious to share the declining fortunes of his royal master, and administer to him those spiritual consolations which never could have been more acceptable. Moreover, having girded himself with the armor of truth, he stood forth as a champion to defend the cause of religion; producing an excellent work intitled "Episcopacy Asserted against the Aerians and Acephali, New and Old;" in which

* According to Lady Wray's statement, quoted by Bishop Heber, vol. i. p. 35.

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he defended, with great learning and acumen, the divine institution of bishops, as being the immediate successors of the apostles, commissioned by them, and intrusted with the exercise of the highest apostolic functions. This treatise was published by the command, as it was probably composed at the suggestion, of the king; who, whatever may have been his failings in other respects, was a loving father to the Church of England, the welfare of which seems to have lain uppermost in his heart, even when he was harassed by the most severe calamities. This work, which experienced unmerited neglect, and remained unanswered amidst the din of arms and the conflict of opinions, was dedicated by Taylor to Christopher Hatton, Esq., afterwards created Lord Hatton of Kirby, who had been his neighbor at Uppingham; a learned man himself, and a patron of learning in others, as appears from the friendship of Dugdale, who composed the Monasticon at his instigation, and by his assistance.

To such a reward as the king and the church, in its low estate, could bestow, Taylor was fully intitled. Accordingly, we find that he was admitted on the 1st of November, 1642, to the degree of Doctor in Divinity, by royal mandate; though the indiscriminate use of this privilege, for the benefit of the royalists about Charles's court, lessened the honor, and produced a remonstrance from the heads of the university, against a practice so detrimental to their dignity and discipline.

Taylor also found, to his cost, that his enemies were much more potent to injure, than his friends to protect him; for about this time his living of Uppingham was sequestered, which reduced him at one blow to a state of utter indigence; and whether this was relieved by that small por-

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tion of the stipend which was, in most cases, assigned to ejected clergymen by the parliamentary commissioners, is uncertain; though it must be confessed, that silence on the subject forms as strong presumptive evidence on the affirmative, as on the negative side of the question.

The circumstances of his history, during the early period of those disastrous times, are very imperfectly known. Wood says only, that he was a frequent preacher to the court at Oxford, and that he attended as chaplain in the king's army; where, though he had not command of time and books, he laid the foundation of many works, which he afterwards finished and published.

The decline of the royal cause compelled him to seek an asylum in Carmarthenshire; though the following letter* to his brother-in-law, Dr. Langsdale, in which appears the name of his printer, who was also a bookseller in Ivy-lane, seems to indicate that he was with his mother-in-law and children, in London, towards the close of 1643.

"Deare Brother,—Thy letter was most welcome to me, bringing the happy news of thy recovery. I had notice of thy danger, but watched for this happy relation, and had layd wayte with Royston to enquire of Mr. Rumbould. I hope I shall not neede to bid thee be carefull for the perfecting thy health, and to be fearful of a relapse. Though I am very much, yet thou thyself art more concerned in it. But this I will remind thee of, that thou be infinitely [careful] to perform to God those holy promises which I suppose thou didst make in thy sicknesse; and remember what thoughts thou hadst then, and beare them along on thy spirit all thy lifetime. For that which was true then is so still, and the world is really as vain a thing as thou didst then suppose it. I durst not tell thy mother of thy danger (though I heard of it,) till, at the same

* Preserved in the British Museum.

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time, I told her of thy recovery. Poore woman! she was troubled and pleased at the same time, but your letter did determine her. I take it kindly that thou hast writt to Bowman. If I had been in condition you should not have beene troubled with it; but, as it is, both thou and I must be content. Thy mother sends her blessing to thee and her little Mally. So doe I, and my prayers to God for you both. Your little cozens are your servants; and I am

"Thy most affectionate and endeared Brother,

"November 24, 1643. "JER. TAYLOR.

"To my very dear Brother, Dr. Langsdale, at his Apothecary's House in Gainsborough."

Next year however he is discovered attached again to a division of the royal army in Wales, being taken prisoner by the parliamentary forces at the defeat of Colonel Charles Gerard before the castle of Cardigan,* February 4, 1644. Bishop Heber is inclined to suspect that the cause which drew him first away from scenes of war, was love: that he had formed an attachment to a lady during the first visit of King Charles to Wales, and that he married her, and retired on her property soon after the date of his letter to Dr. Langsdale; though the evils of war, extending themselves into the most remote and peaceful districts, soon involved him again in their vortex. This indeed seems intimated by himself in the Dedication prefixed to his "Liberty of Prophesying," wherein he observes, that, "in the great storm which dashed the vessel of the church all in pieces, he had been cast on the coast of Wales; and, in a little boat, thought to have enjoyed that rest and quietness which, in England, in a far greater, he could not hope for. Here," he continues, "I cast anchor; and, thinking to ride safely, the storm followed me with so impetuous

* Whitelock's Memoir, p. 130.

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violence, that it broke a cable, and I lost my anchor. And here again I was exposed to the mercy of the sea, and the gentleness of an element that could neither distinguish things nor persons. And but that He who stilleth the raging of the sea, and the noise of his waves, and the madness of his people, had provided a plank for me, I had been lost to all the opportunities of content or study. But I know not whether I have been more preserved by the courtesies of my friends, or the gentleness and mercies of a noble enemy. *Οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι παρεῖχον οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ἡμῖν· ἀνάψαντες γὰρ πυρὰν, προσελάβοντο ΠΑΝΤΑΣ ΗΜΑΣ, διὰ τὸν ὑετὸν τὸν ἐφεστῶτα, καὶ διὰ τὸ ψύχος.*"

Taylor's second wife, by whom he had three daughters, was named Joanna Bridges, and was possessed of a competent estate at Mandinam, in the parish of Llanguedor, and county of Carmarthen. Her mother's family is not known; but she was generally believed to be a natural daughter of Charles I., when his youth was under the guidance of the licentious Buckingham. If we consider that Charles by natural temperament was inclined to gallantry, as is evident from his conduct in the famous journey to Spain, and that he was under the fascinating influence of one of the most dissolute and commanding spirits of the age, we shall be inclined to make all due allowance for the indiscretion of the prince: but it is highly creditable to his morals, as a man and as a king, that he could declare at the last awful hour of life, that he had never swerved, even in thought, from the fidelity which he owed to his royal consort.

The lady whom Taylor now married is said, in a letter

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of Lady Wray,* "to have been brought up in much privacy by some relations in Glamorganshire; to have possessed a very fine person, of which her portrait, yet preserved in the family, is a sufficient evidence; and both in countenance and disposition to have displayed a striking resemblance to her unfortunate father."

During this year Taylor published his edition of the Psalter, with Collects affixed to each Psalm, and also a Defence of the Liturgy, when the use of it had been abolished, and the Directory substituted in its stead: this he afterwards expanded into a larger work. They were probably both published during his imprisonment, since the latter came out anonymously, and the former in the name of the Right Hon. Christopher Hatton: nor did the name of the real author transpire, till the eighth edition, enlarged, was published by Royston in 1672, as composed by Jeremy Taylor, D. D. Chaplain to King Charles I. of blessed memory.† How long his imprisonment continued there are no means of ascertaining: but notwithstanding the humane treatment which, by his own confession, he received from his enemies, it is probable that he did not escape without large pecuniary sacrifices, and draughts on his wife's fortune; since we find that he was about this time reduced to the necessity of maintaining himself and family by keeping a school, in partnership with William Nicholson, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, and William Wyatt, who subsequently became prebendary of Lincoln. In conjunction with this latter gen-

* Quoted by Bishop Heber, vol. i. p. 56.

† Archdeacon Bonney's Ms. quoted by Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 197.

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tleman, he published "A New and Easy Institution of Grammar," in the Latin preface to which we find Newton Hall, in the parish of Llanfihangel, their place of residence, dignified by the name of *Collegium Newtoniense.* According to Wood, several youths, most loyally educated, were sent from thence to the universities. The most distinguished among these was Judge Powell, whose dignified and impartial conduct, at the trial of the seven bishops, reflected credit on his instructors; and on whose tomb it is recorded to his honor that he had been a pupil of Jeremy Taylor.

In 1647, it is probable that he saw his royal master for the last time; as in August, this year, the chaplains of the imprisoned monarch were allowed for a short period free access to him; and it appears, that at a late period of Charles's misfortunes, Taylor had an interview with him, and received from him, in token of regard, his watch, with a few pearls and rubies, that had ornamented the ebony case in which he kept his Bible.* In this same year also he brought out his celebrated treatise on "the Liberty of Prophesying," a work which Bishop Heber, who was no mean judge of literary and moral excellence, inclined to think the ablest of all his compositions. Yet this admirable work, as its author tells us, in his Epistle dedicatory to Lord Hatton, was composed under circumstances most disadvantageous; in poverty and imprisonment; and without either leisure or books. But he had the resources of his own powerful mind, imbued as it was with all the treasures of ancient learning, and enlightened by a familiar acquaint-

* Mr. Jones and Archdeacon Bonney's Mss. quoted by Bishop Heber, vol. i. p. 41.

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ance with that sacred guide, which is able to make men wise unto salvation. Nor is it a slight evidence of God's providence in the disposal of human affairs, that so many master spirits have appeared at different periods in the world, and precisely at the very crisis which demanded their exertions. Certainly, at no era in the British history, did a more noble phalanx unite to defend the church of Christ, and transmit its glories to posterity, than in the dark and troubled times of which we are now treating. Among the foremost and stoutest of those champions was the subject of our present memoir; but his virtuous and enlightened mind was well aware that the church of Christ is a church of peace, not of persecution or intolerance; wherefore at a time when sects and parties were almost innumerable, and each burned with zeal to propagate its own peculiar doctrines, careless of means, and reckless of consequences, Taylor endeavored to teach them a lesson of toleration, sanctioned by reason, and recommended by that Gospel which all professed to follow.

When this publication first appeared, the principles of toleration had been so little discussed, and the practice of it so little attended to, that we can hardly be surprised if the author failed to please all parties. At the time of its publication, it was considered to contain principles which struck at the foundation of ecclesiastical government; accordingly it gave offence to many members of the establishment, whose adversaries in some instances conceived themselves justified by it in their hostilities. It must indeed be confessed, that those bounds which are necessary for the preservation of spiritual government and unity in the church, were overstepped in this discourse, inasmuch as its leading principle, namely, "that a church ought to

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require no other terms of communion from its members than a confession of the Apostles' Creed," seems extended by its author to the admission of persons into the public ministry. "That office," Bishop Heber observes, "as it cannot be exercised by all, in its very nature supposes a selection of some and a rejection of others; and it is not only natural, but allowable, and, generally speaking, a duty in the selectors, to fix on such persons as, being otherwise properly qualified, entertain not only on the essentials of religion, but on its important and practical, though possibly its subordinate features, what the *antistites religionis* themselves conceive to be the true opinion. Where a limited number only is to be admitted, this preference, given to some, need be considered as no reflection either on the morals or the Christianity of the rest." Even if it could be proved that the Apostles themselves required, in candidates for the ministry, nothing but a confession of what is called their creed, it does not follow but that, as false opinions and heresies arose in the church, it might be necessary to guard against their dissemination: and if St. Paul himself declares of certain teachers (Tit. i. 2.) that 'their mouths must be stopped,' that is, must be silenced by authority, for teaching doctrines which are neither expressly contradicted by any article in the Apostles' Creed, nor manifestly contrary to good morals, it follows, *a fortiori*, that a candidate for the office of teacher may be rejected, if he avows that same doctrine: so that in this case the unrestrained liberty of prophesying will not hold, and the question concerning what doctrines shall be publicly taught in the church, devolves on its regularly appointed governors.

But if churchmen feel that the author gives too great a

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latitude to his principles in this treatise, sectarians think that he does not establish them on a basis sufficiently broad: it is said that the natural rights of man, and the plain language of Scripture, are kept in the back ground, whilst arguments of minor importance are brought forward in defence of toleration. With respect to the natural rights of man, it must be considered, that, when Taylor wrote his book, they were very imperfectly understood, and that a very large body of the people, from an eager desire to assume them, without possessing that knowlege which is necessary for their discreet use, were then throwing the whole frame of society into the most dreadful convulsions. It can scarcely be expected then that he should insist very strongly on this point, though he has by no means neglected it.* Still less has he overlooked that more sure and convincing ground of argument, the authority of Holy Writ: indeed, one of the strongest reasons which he urges against persecution, is the dishonor done to Christianity by supposing that it needs any other defence, except those arguments and that morality which rendered its establishment and propagation so sure.

Perhaps the point on which Taylor has been most incautious and liable to reprehension, is where he expresses an opinion, that not only all peaceable and charitable means are to be used in bringing back an erring brother to the right faith, but that, consistently with his principle, the secular power may be lawfully employed in punishing an opinion which teaches impiety, blasphemy, or idolatry. "If," says he, "it plainly and apparently brings in a crime, and the man does act it or encourage it, then the matter

* See particularly § i. and § xiii.

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of fact is punishable, according to its proportion or malignity." Such errors, Bishop Heber justly observes, if not accurately defined, might involve within their net very many descriptions of persons whom Taylor would have been sorry to behold the victims of religious severities. The Deist and the Jew blaspheme the divine lawgiver of Christians; and the modern Unitarian, departing from the Apostles' Creed, excludes himself from its protection. Again, if known idolatry may be suppressed by the sword, we justify the horrid cruelties exercised by the Spanish and Portuguese on their heathen subjects, and perhaps our fellow Christians of the Greek and Roman church. But it is probable that as none of these persons were then in danger of persecution, Taylor was not anxious to pursue his principles to an extent that might offend those whom he wished to conciliate. "Nor," as his admirable biographer goes on to say, "is there any real weight in the difficulty which appears to have perplexed him, in what manner to reconcile the duty incumbent on every magistrate, to repress all open acts of sin and impiety, with the toleration which the same magistrate may be called on to grant to the worshipper of idols, or to the assailant of Christianity. That difficulty arises from a misapprehension of the magistrate's power; whose office, as it is purely civil and secular, has no direct concern with the souls of men; and who is neither bound nor authorised to interfere between man and his Maker, or to take on himself the punishment of offences against God, except where those offences disturb the public peace, or endanger the temporal property of the subject.

"And the distinction which has been laid down as to *actions*, will apply with equal accuracy to *doctrines*. Those

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which are immediately, or in their evident and avowed consequences, injurious to civil society, and those only, are fit subjects for suppression and punishment; and they are so, not because they are offences against God, but because they are dangerous to mankind."

With respect to the motives that principally induced Taylor to publish this treatise, he himself, with characteristic ingenuousness, confesses them in another work. "When," he says, "a persecution did arise against the church of England, and I intended to make a defensative for my brethren and myself, by pleading for liberty of our consciences to persevere in that profession which was warranted by all the laws of God and our superiors, some men were angry, and would not be safe that way, because I had made the roof of the sanctuary so wide, that more might be sheltered under it than they had a mind should be saved harmless: men would be safe alone or not at all, supposing that their truth and good cause was warranty enough against persecution, if men had believed it to be truth: but because we were fallen under the power of our worst enemies, (for brethren turned enemies are ever the most implacable) they looked on us as men in mispersuasion and error. And therefore I was to defend our persons, that whether our cause were right or wrong, (for it would be supposed wrong) yet we might be permitted in liberty and impunity; but then the consequent would be this, that if we, when we were supposed to be in error, were yet to be identified, then others also whom we thought as ill of were to rejoice in the same freedom, because this equality is the great instrument of justice; and if we would not do to others as we desired should be done to us, we were no more to pretend to religion, because we destroy

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the law and the prophets. Of this some men were impatient: and they would have all the world spare them, and yet they would spare nobody. But because this is unreasonable, I need no excuse for speaking to other purposes. Others complained that it would have evil effects, and all heresies would enter at the gate of toleration: and because I knew that they would crowd and throng in as far as they could, I placed such guards and restraints there, as might keep out all unreasonable pretenders, allowing none to enter here that speak against the Apostles' creed, or weakened the hands of government, or were enemies to good life."* I have thought it right to quote this passage, because it is sometimes urged against Taylor as a great discovery, that he was merely an episcopalian arguing for the toleration of episcopacy. Here then he confesses his motives and his aim. Bishop Heber, however, conceives that there is room to suppose, from internal evidence, from the dedication to so high a churchman as Hatton, and from the peculiar circumstances of the times, which then offered a great probability of amicable arrangement, that Taylor's desire was to induce not only an abatement of claims which the presbyterians were then urging on the king, but a disposition on the king's part, and on the part of his advisers among the episcopal clergy, to concede somewhat more to those demands than their principles had as yet permitted them. Nor is this improbable. But to conclude this long digression, we may observe, that notwithstanding the defects which may be discovered in the "Liberty of Prophesying:" though, on the one hand, it may not contain that high, uncompro-

* Prefatory epistle to the Σύμβολον Ἠθικο-Πολεμικόν.

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mising spirit which some parties would require, and though, on the other, it may overstep those limits which are necessary to preserve spiritual government and unity in the church, still it is a noble work, rich both in intellect and charity, especially when the prejudices and distractions of the age in which it was published are considered: it contains many scriptural and enlightened views on the subject of religious liberty; it is perhaps the first work of any importance on this subject that proceeded from our establishment; and, as coming from a *protégé* of Laud, is intitled to peculiar praise.*

Very few incidents connected with the private and domestic life of Taylor, at this period, are preserved on record. The loss of his preferment, his imprisonment, with its consequent expenses, and the breaking up of his school establishment, reduced him to a miserable state of indigence; from which he was relieved by the generous bounty and protection of Richard Vaughan, earl of Carbery, a staunch loyalist, and supporter of the king; but so highly esteemed for his probity by all parties, that he was permitted to compound for his estates on very easy terms, by the parliamentary commissioners. His first wife, who now presided over his family, was Frances,

* The beautiful little apologue, or story of Abraham and the idolatrous traveller, introduced at the end of the second edition of this treatise, which was given by Franklin to Lord Kaimes, and published in his "Sketches," is said by Taylor to have been taken from the "Jews' Books;" but it has been traced by Mr. Oxlee, the learned friend of Bishop Heber, to the Bostàn of thé Persian poet Saadi. Taylor took it from the Epistle Dedicatory, prefixed to the translation of a Jewish work by Gentius in 1651, who quotes it, as from Saadi.

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daughter of Sir John Altham, of Orbey, a great friend of Taylor, and described by him, in the sermon preached at her funeral, as possessed of every virtue under heaven. The second was Alice, eleventh daughter of John, first earl of Bridgewater, a lady, whose innocence and beauty in early youth afforded to Milton the original of his "Lady" in Comus, and whose eminent virtues in maturer age extorted high encomiums from the pen of Jeremy Taylor. In this hospitable family he was admitted as chaplain; and here he preached his eloquent and glowing discourses, at a time when the pulpits of the church were prohibited to its ministers.

The mansion of Lord Carbery, called Golden Grove, was situated at Llanfihangel, in the picturesque vale "of winding Towy, Merlin's fabled haunt," since celebrated by the sylvan muse of Dyer. The site commands a noble and extensive view, comprising that fine river, with its venerable hanging woods, "beautiful in various dyes," rocks crested with ancient castles, that speak both to the memory and imagination, verdant meadows and lovely hills, with classic Grongar abruptly rising in the middle of the vale. The grandeur of this scenery, and the tranquillity which it promised him, must have been peculiarly suited to a mind so deeply imbued with poetical and religious feelings as that of Taylor. Here then we may fancy him in his proper element, far removed from scenes of noise and discord, pensive, but not sad, communing with Nature's beauties, and elevating his soul from the contemplation of them, to fix it on their benevolent Author. Nor can any one be surprised to learn "that his memory is still held in great veneration in the neighborhood; and that there is a

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walk, or avenue, near the house, which to this day is called Taylor's Walk."*

The first work which he published in this delightful retirement was, "An Apology for the Liturgy," sent forth in 1649, and justly considered one of the best of his polemical treatises; or rather it was an enlarged and improved edition of that which he had published three years before. The constitution of the kingdom, mutilated as it had been during the rebellion, was now dissolved: the oaths of supremacy and allegiance were abolished; and the engagement was imposed on all who held office in church or state, requiring them to swear, "that they would be true and faithful to the government established without king or house of peers." The independent interest now prevailed, both in and out of parliament; the presbyterians themselves began to taste the bitter fruits of persecution; a licentious soldiery spread terror over the realm; whilst the pulpits were thrown open to every declaimer, whatever might be his doctrines.

In such a state of things, it is no slight proof of Taylor's loyalty and courage, that he produced this work, which openly tends to degrade the Directory, by a comparison of it with the noble Liturgy of the church of England; and that he prefixed his name to it, with a reprint of his dedication to the king. His publishing it at all must be ascribed to the deep sense he entertained of the misery to which his distracted country was now subjected; and of its loss, in being deprived of a church service, which he describes with such pathetic eloquence. "In these things we also

* See note in p. 54. of Archdeacon Bonney's Life of Taylor.

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have been too like the sons of Israel; for when we sinned as greatly, we also have groaned under as great and sad a calamity. For we have not only felt the evils of an intestine war, but God hath smitten us in our spirit, and laid the scene of his judgments especially in religion. But I delight not to observe the correspondences of such sad accidents: they do but help to vex the offending part, and relieve the afflicted with but a fantastic and groundless comfort. I will therefore deny leave to my own affections, to ease themselves, by complaining of others. I shall only crave leave, that I may remember Jerusalem, and call to mind the pleasures of the temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity and economy of her priests and Levites, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion, that went not out by day nor by night. These were the pleasures of our peace; and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of those spiritual delights, which we then enjoyed as antepasts of heaven, and consignations to an immortality of joys. *And it may be so again, when* it shall please God, who hath the hearts of all princes in his hand, and turneth them as the rivers of waters; *and when* men will consider the invaluable loss that is consequent, and the danger of sin that is appendant to the destroying of such forms of discipline and devotion, in which God was purely worshipped, and the church was edified, and the people instructed to great degrees of piety, knowlege, and devotion."

The next in the list of Taylor's literary labors, was a work, which being more practical and devotional, soon rose in fame and popularity beyond any that had preceded it. This was his "Life of Christ, or the Great Exemplar."

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It is divided into three parts, to each of which a dedication, in the author's characteristic manner, is prefixed; the first being inscribed to his friend and patron, Lord Hatton; the second to Mary, countess of Northampton, whose husband had been engaged in a similar work, before he fell in the royal cause, at Hopton Heath; and the third to Frances, Lady Carbery: though in the third edition, when death had deprived him of that excellent friend, we find another dedication, adapted with singular good taste and feeling, to her successor, the "Lady" of the Comus.

As a bold assertion too often passes for truth, because few have the inclination or means of examining its pretensions, this admirable work has been made the subject of one of those falsehoods, which some popish writers seem to consider praiseworthy, when employed to the advantage of their church. In the auto-biography of the Rev. John Serjeant,* the "Life of Christ" is said to be merely the translation of a work compiled by a Carthusian monk, named Ludolf, of Saxony. Bishop Heber, however, has clearly vindicated Taylor from this charge, and has shown the dissimilarity of that work to the "Great Exemplar;" which latter bears the manifest impress of its author, in all its peculiarities of style, in the richness of its imagery, the grandeur of its sentiment, the deep tone of its piety, and the developement of sound principles for the guidance of human conduct; whilst it is disfigured by many forced conceits, and a parade of learning, by much grave trifling, and by some dogmatising on doctrinal points, in which he rather varies from the sentiments of that church, of which

* Inserted in the Roman Catholic Miscellany, intitled the "Catholicon," vol. iii.

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he was so bright an ornament, and so staunch a supporter. Several discourses, or disquisitions, are introduced into the body of this book, and are conceived in a spirit of profound devotion, majestic eloquence, and practical holiness, so similar to that which shines out in his sermons, as to render the conjecture of Archdeacon Bonney very probable, that they may be the substance of a course preached at Uppingham. His next publication was an eloquent and affecting sermon, on the death of his revered patroness, Lady Carbery, with a dedication to her afflicted husband, composed in a style of deep feeling, intermingled with that quaintness of expression and of metaphor, which distinguished the age in which he wrote. Prefixed to the discourse is a long Latin inscription, which was probably intended, not for a monumental tablet, but for a scroll, which was affixed to the coffin as it lay in state.

Taylor published about this time,* "A Short Catechism," for the use of the schools in South Wales; also a tract intitled Θεολογία Ἐκλεκτική, and a volume of twenty-seven sermons for the summer half-year, dedicated to Lord Carbery, "whose charity and nobleness gave him opportunity to do this service (great or little) unto religion; though their publication was first designed by the appetites of that hunger and thirst of righteousness, which made his dear lady, that rare soul, so dear to God, that he was pleased speedily to satisfy her, by carrying her from our shallow and impure cisterns, to drink out of the fountains of our Saviour." "My lord," he goes on to say, "I shall but prick your tender eye, if I shall remind your lordship how diligent a hearer, how careful a recorder, how

* In 1662.

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prudent an observer, how sedulous a practiser of holy discourses she was; and therefore it was, that what did slide through her ear, she was desirous to place before her eyes, that by those windows it might enter in and dwell in her heart."

The great fame of Jeremy Taylor rests, after all, on his sermons: by them he has been chiefly known to succeeding ages; and they contain more of his characteristic beauties, in proportion to his defects, than any of his other writings. To enter at large into an analysis of these celebrated discourses would far exceed the limits of this memoir; but as their re-publication is now proposed, a few general observations on them cannot reasonably be omitted.

To judge their author, however, by the same standard of criticism as we should apply to a modern writer, would be unfair. Their tone, and style, and matter arose, in a considerable degree, out of the wants and desires of the age, pressing on a genius peculiarly calculated to satisfy them. Long political harangues had been so mixed up with religious topics, in those disastrous times; the "drum ecclesiastic" had been made so powerful an instrument to inflame popular enthusiasm, that men still demanded the prolixity of discourse, the fervor of zeal, and the energy of expression, to which they had been long accustomed. Moreover, a show of learning was then so much in vogue, on the old principle of *ignotum pro magnifico*, that if a preacher was not a *Latiner*, the most brilliant talents could hardly save him from contempt. Hence we find in Taylor's discourses that superabundance of quotation, which not only illustrates his subject at times with extraordinary felicity, but oftener disfigures it with impertinent allu-

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sion. Hence, in some degree, arises that immeasurable, indiscriminating copiousness, which piles image on image, example on example, illustration on illustration, till the mind, after having been delighted, becomes bewildered by the interminable succession of ideas. Hence, that aggravated zeal and impetuosity which sometimes stimulate him to such daring heights, to such violent and portentous creations of fancy, as startle us by their absurdity, and occasion us to withhold our sympathies, even when he appears most passionately to demand them. Hence, too, in his desire to push a subject to the extreme point, he too often mixes what is coarse and vile with what is splendid and sublime, or brings the most vulgar objects of sense into contact with the most magnificent creations of thought. At times he makes such a revolting combination of intense corporeal torments with others purely spiritual, that the mind recoils from it with incredulity. Nay, with such coolness does he dissect, as it were, the human frame, laying open every part sensible to pain; and with such seeming satisfaction does he dwell on the recapitulation of infernal horrors, that it almost requires the evidence we possess of his meek spirit, his love towards his fellow-creatures, and his zeal for their salvation, to free us from very unfavorable impressions regarding his disposition.

These are his principal faults; others might be mentioned, such as his quaint conceits, his rude phraseology, his excessive exaggerations, and his sometimes false analogies; which not only offend the purer and more refined taste of the present age, but provoked the following bitter and sarcastic observations from an irritable, though high-gifted contemporary of Taylor. "*I speak the words of soberness*, said St. Paul, Acts xxvi. 25. And I preach

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the Gospel, not with the *inticing words of man's wisdom*, 1 Cor. ii. 4. This was the way of the Apostles' discoursing of things sacred. Nothing here *of the fringes of the north-star*; nothing of *Nature's becoming unnatural*; nothing of *the down of angels' wings*, or *the beautiful looks of cherubims*; no starched similitudes, introduced with a *Thus have I seen a cloud rolling in its airy mansion*, and the like. No: these were sublimities above the rise of the apostolic spirit: for the Apostles, poor mortals! were content to take lower steps, and to tell the world, in plain terms, that *he who believed should be saved; and that he who believed not should be damned.* And this was the dialect which pierced the conscience, and made the hearers cry out, *Men and brethren, what shall we do?* It tickled not the ear, but sunk into the heart; and when men came from such sermons, they never commended the preacher for his taking voice and gesture, for the fineness of such a simile, or the quaintness of such a sentence: but they spoke like men conquered with the overpowering force and evidence of the most concerning truths; much in the words of the two disciples going to Emmaus; *Did not our hearts burn within us, while he opened to us the Scriptures?*" *

Admitting the justice of these remarks, we must make due allowance for the faults of a writer, who had no good models to guide him in this most difficult species of composition; but who was among the foremost to rescue it, not only from that tedious allegorising style which had

* This remarkable passage from one of Dr. South's Sermons was first pointed out as applicable to Jeremy Taylor, by an ingenious writer in the Eclectic Review.

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descended from the earliest ages of Christianity to his own times, but from the quaint stiffness of our first reformers, the absurd subtilties of the schoolmen, and the disgusting cant of puritanical enthusiasm. Yet all his defects in style are more than compensated by the splendid imagery with which he so frequently clothes his ideas. Thoughts, which, expressed by a common writer, would pass off the mind without striking the imagination, or impressing themselves on the memory, start up, living eloquent images, under the magic of his pen: and these, by their single and combined effects, give an air of originality even to subjects like the great truths of religion, few and simple as they are, where repetition is unavoidable, and the range of illustration limited. This is the great charm of Jeremy Taylor's writings, wherein the ever-varying hues of fancy play like the coruscations of an *aurora borealis*, and on which imagination stamps the genuine impress of sublime genius. Hence they generally recommend themselves strongly to minds of a high poetic temperament; and hence probably it is, that one of our greatest living poets thus speaks of them, notwithstanding all their faults:—"His writings are a perpetual feast to me. His hospitable board groans under the weight and multitude of viands. Yet I seldom rise from his perusal without recollecting the excellent observation of Minucius Felix: *Fabulas et errores ab imperitis parentibus discimus, et, quod gravius est, ipsis studiis et disciplinis elaboramus.*" *

But we should do great injustice to Jeremy Taylor, if we dwelt only on the external splendor of his composition, without noticing those deep veins of piety which run

* Southey's Omniana, vol. i. art. Taylor.

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through the whole. Even in a doctrinal point of view, he may have his faults and defects: he may depart from that clear and satisfactory exposition of original sin, which is adopted by our church; he may contradict himself sometimes in the abstruse subjects of predestination and free-will; he may depart from sound views in his speculations on the return of prayers; he may contract too much the efficacy even of a late repentance; he may fall into sentiments inconsistent with his usual notions of God's justice and mercy, when he supposes the devotions of the people, and the offices of the church, to be vitiated by the personal unworthiness of a minister; he may consider Christians too strictly bound under the elements of that Law, from the yoke of which Christ has set them free;* but no one speaks more powerfully to the heart of man; no one exerts himself with greater energy to promote all the practical virtues of Christianity; no one abounds more in what is necessary for *reproof*, for *correction*, for *instruction in righteousness;* no one places hope and fear in such vivid colors before our eyes, or recommends the common topics of religion with such striking illustrations and such solemn enforcements. Possessed, as it were, of a magic key, he unlocks every chamber, where the treasures of the Gospel lie in rich profusion: untombing then the gates of death, of heaven, and of hell, he at one time raises us up towards the mansions of the blest, in order that we may take a foretaste of celestial joys; and at another, he descends to the very depths of everlasting woe, where sounds and sights of dreadful import strike terror to the heart of the most hardened sinner. In short, it may be said, that the ser-

* See particularly his Sermons on "the Entail of Curses cut off."

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mons of Jeremy Taylor are the most powerful batteries ever erected by an uninspired individual against the strong holds of sin. Our limits will not admit such a multiplicity of examples as might easily be collected to illustrate the foregoing observations; but I cannot forbear asking, who, that was inclined to entice his neighbor into sin, could resist the following pathetic appeal, addressed to a sinner standing in the collected multitude before the judgment seat of God? "That soul which cries to those rocks to cover her, if it had not been for thy perpetual temptations, might have followed the Lamb in a white robe: and that poor man, that is clothed with shame and flames of fire, would have shined in glory, but that thou didst force him to be partner of thy baseness: and who shall pay for this loss? A soul is lost by thy means; thou hast defeated the holy purposes of the Lord's bitter passion by thy impurities: and what shall happen to thee by whom thy brother dies eternally?"

Again, how is it possible for a man, unless hardened with judicial blindness, not to hesitate before he plunges into guilt, as long as memory retains any impression of that awful and sublime description of the last judgment, which is conveyed in the following passage?

"In final and extreme events, the multitude of sufferers does not lessen, but increase the sufferings; and when *the first day of judgment* happened, that (I mean) of the universal deluge of waters on the old world, the calamity swelled like the flood; and every man saw his friend perish, and the neighbors of his dwelling, and the relatives of his house, and the sharers of his joys, and yesterday's bride, and the new-born heir, the priest of the family, and

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the honor of the kindred, all dying or dead, drenched in water and the divine vengeance; and then they had no place to flee unto; no man cared for their souls; they had none to go unto for counsel; no sanctuary nigh enough to keep them from the vengeance that rained down from heaven: and so it shall be at the day of judgment; when that world and this, and all that shall be born hereafter, shall pass through the same Red Sea, and be all baptised with the same fire, and be involved in the same cloud, in which shall be thunderings and terrors infinite: every man's fear shall be increased by his neighbor's shrieks; and the amazement that all the world shall be in, shall unite as the sparks of a raging furnace into a globe of fire, and roll on its own principle, and increase by direct appearances and intolerable reflexions. He that stands in a churchyard, in the time of a great plague, and hears the passing-bell perpetually telling the sad stories of death, and sees crowds of infected bodies pressing to their graves, and others sick and tremulous, and death dressed up in all the images of sorrow round about him, is not supported in his spirit by the variety of his sorrow: and at doomsday, when the terror is universal, besides that it is in itself so much greater, because it can affright the whole world, it is also made greater by communication and a sorrowful influence; grief being then strongly infectious, when there is no variety of state, but an intire kingdom of fear; and amazement is the king of all our passions, and all the world its subjects: and that shriek must needs be terrible, when millions of men and women at the same instant shall fearfully cry out, and the noise shall mingle with the trumpet of the archangel, with the thunders of the dying

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and groaning heavens, and the crack of the dissolving world; when the whole fabric of Nature shall shake into dissolution and eternal ashes."

With this remarkable passage, involving many beauties with some defects, and which may be taken as a characteristic specimen of Taylor's powers, I conclude my observations on his sermons, passing on to the next great work which employed his pen, his "Holy Living and Holy Dying." These two admirable treatises are so eminently marked by that fervid strain of practical devotion which distinguishes their author, that it is very probable they were his favorite compositions. In them, as Archdeacon Bonney observes,* "all the treasures of ancient literature with which his memory was stored,—all the sterling morality extracted by his discerning judgment from the vilest dross of antiquity, are brought in aid of his impressive subject." Both are dedicated to his kind and constant friend, Lord Carbery, at the instigation of whose excellent lady, as we learn in the preface to the "Holy Dying," these admired works were composed. The design of them, he tells us,† was to assist and console the dispersed flock of that holy church, whose altars had been overthrown, and whose ministers, scattered abroad and persecuted, were unable to stop the inundation of ungodliness, and from chairs or pulpits, synods or tribunals, to chastise the iniquity, error, and ambition of evil guides, or the infidelity of the willingly-deceived multitude.

Though the later works of Taylor had been purely of a devotional stamp, he did not altogether neglect doctrinal

* Life of Taylor, p. 97.

† In the Preface to the "Holy Living."

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subjects; but published two tracts on baptism: nor was controversy intirely to be avoided. In the year 1654 the insulting tone in which certain members of the Roman Catholic church triumphed over our fallen Sion, induced him to examine the principal points of difference between the two churches, in a disquisition on "The real Presence and spiritual of Christ, in the blessed Sacrament, proved against the Doctrine of Transubstantiation;" a powerful and learned work, though, as Bishop Heber observes, "a desire to conciliate his antagonists, or an anxiety to raise as high as possible the honor of the Christian altar, has involved him occasionally in an illogical mode of reasoning, and thrown a needless obscurity around a plain doctrine of the protestant church, and some very clear and comfortable texts of Scripture." This essay was dedicated to the excellent Dr. Warner, bishop of Rochester, who, from his own scanty income, in those times of general distress, continued to relieve the wants of his still more impoverished friend.

But though the church of Rome might now be attacked with impunity, other virulent adversaries were more dangerous, as they were more powerful. Towards the end of this year (1654) he expanded his "Catechism for Children" into a manual, called the "Golden Grove,"* in honor of that beautiful mansion where he had so long enjoyed repose after his troubles. Some expressions, however, in the preface, calculated to offend deeply the presbyterian and independent clergy, as well as the lord pro-

* Bishop Heber gives some satisfactory reasons for believing that, although the first edition of the "Golden Grove" is dated in 1655, it was published in Michaelmas term, 1654, vol. ii. p. 210.

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tector himself, occasioned his committal to prison; though his confinement did not continue long, as we learn from a letter addressed to him by the celebrated John Evelyn, who, whilst he expresses the anxiety which he had felt on the occasion of his calamity, congratulates him on being again at liberty.* A little before this period, Taylor had contracted a warm and lasting friendship with that excellent person, who may be considered as an English gentleman of the highest order, with a character full of sweetness and spirit; a patriot, who kept his loyalty in the most dangerous times; and a Christian, who preserved his integrity in the most immoral; a scholar, with rather a pedantic fondness for learned phrases and scraps of literature; but withal a philosopher, who viewed every object with a desire to extract from it all the beauty and goodness it contained; who delighted to breathe in the sweet atmosphere of gardens, and to recline under the sylvan shades with which he had adorned his country. Taylor and Evelyn mutually profited by this union; the one liberally administering to the necessities of the other out of his temporal goods, and receiving in return the blessings of spiritual advice and religious consolation.†

Another letter from Evelyn, dated May 18th, 1655,‡

* This letter (given by Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 205.) is dated 9th Feb. 1654: probably by a mistake of the writer for 1655.

† "On the 31st Mar. 1655, I made a visit to Dr. Jeremy Taylor, to confer with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as my ghostly father. I beseech God Almighty to make me ever mindful of, and thankful for his heavenly assistances." Evelyn's Mem. vol. i. p. 293.

‡ The date in Evelyn's Memoirs, is Mar. 18. but it ought to be May. See Heber, vol. ii. p. 215.

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seems to intimate that Taylor's calamities had not yet ceased, but that he was again in custody; a supposition which is strengthened by the evidence of an epistle afterwards written by Taylor to Dr. Warren, and published with his *Deus Justificatus.** The scene of this second imprisonment is conjectured by Bishop Heber to have been Chepstow Castle: the cause of it is involved in obscurity; but it may fairly be conjectured to have arisen from expressions in his published works favorable to monarchy, by whose advocates amongst the episcopalians, Cromwell, who had but lately quelled the insurrection at Salisbury, was so irritated, that he vented his rage against the orthodox clergy, and subjected them to many harsh restrictions.† A passage in Evelyn's letter just mentioned, relating to the temper of the usurper at this period, and his own reflexions on it, is well worthy of notice: "Julianus Redivivus can shut the schooles indeede, and the temples; but he cannot hinder our private intercourses and devotions, where the breast is the chappell and our heart is the altar. Obedience founded in the understanding will be the only cure and retraite. God will accept what remaines, and supply what is necessary. He is not obliged to externals; the purest ages passed under the cruellest persecutions: it is sometimes necessary; and this, and the fulfilling of prophecy, are all instruments of greate advantage (even whilst they presse and are incumbent) to those who can make a sanctified use of them." The letter from which

* Answer to a letter touching original sin. Taylor's Works, vol. ix. p. 365. Heber's edit.

† On this subject, see a remarkable and interesting extract from Parr's Life of Usher, p. 75. quoted by Heber.

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this extract is taken, and which was principally written to induce Taylor to publish something for the comfort and edification of the afflicted church, did not reach him, to all appearance, for several months after its date. It was not answered till the January following; and it probably shared the fate of some other letters addressed to him at this period, which passing through the hands of Royston his printer, were detained under the impression that a captive would not be allowed to receive them.*

The mind of Jeremy Taylor having been so essentially poetic, that his very prose is saturated with the dews of Castaly, it is natural to suppose that he often wooed the willing Muse. Probably this was the case: but his lighter effusions, if any such existed, have all perished; and the only specimens of his art remaining are a few hymns appended to his work, intitled "Golden Grove." These, in addition to the faults of the age regarding purity of diction and correctness of metaphor, partake, as Archdeacon Bonney well observes, "of that defect which is incidental to divine poetry, and fail in endeavoring to express, what indeed is beyond the reach of human language, the mysteries of religion, and events concealed by the veil of futurity."† Still there is a dignity of sentiment, a grandeur of thought, and a brilliancy of diction about these efforts, which are not unworthy of the author; nor will he sink very low even by a comparison with Milton himself, when his sublime Muse is restricted to the narrow compass of similar compositions. The following specimens are selected in corroboration of the above assertions:—

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* Heber, vol. i. p. 63. † Life of Taylor, p. 230.

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ON HEAVEN.

O beauteous God, uncircumscribed treasure
Of an eternal pleasure,
Thy throne is seated far
Above the highest star,
Where thou preparest a glorious place,
Within the brightness of thy face,
For every spirit
To inherit
That builds his hopes upon thy merit,
And loves thee with a holy charity.

What ravish'd heart, seraphic tongue, or eyes,
Clear as the morning's rise,
Can speak, or think, or see
That bright eternity,
Where the great King's transparent throne
Is of an entire jasper-stone?
There the eye
O' th' chrysolite,
And a sky
Of diamonds, rubies, chrysoprase,
And, above all, thy holy face,
Makes an eternal clarity.

When thou thy jewels up dost binde, that day
Remember us, we pray;
That where the beryl lies,
And the crystal, 'bove the skies,
There thou mai'st appoint us place,
Within the brightness of thy face,
And our soul
In the scrowl
Of life and blissfulness enrowl,
That we may praise thee to eternity.
Allelujah.

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FROM THE "PRAYER FOR CHARITY."

Full of mercy, full of love,
Look upon us from above!
Thou who taught'st the blind man's night
To entertain a double light,
Thine, and the day's, (and that thine too;)
The lame away his crutches threw;
The parched crust of leprosy
Return'd unto its infancy;
The dumb amazed was to hear
His own unchain'd tongue strike his ear:
Thy powerful mercy did e'en chase
The devil from his usurped place,
Where thou thyself shouldst dwell, not he.
Oh! let thy love our pattern be:
Let thy mercy teach one brother
To forgive and love another;
That, copying thy mercy here,
Thy goodness may hereafter rear
Our souls unto thy glory, when
Our dust shall cease to be with men.

CHAPTER III.

TAYLOR'S confinement at Chepstow seems not to have lasted long, nor to have been accompanied with much rigor; as we learn from a passage in his letter to the bishop of Rochester, published with the *Deus Justificatus*, wherein he says, "I have now that liberty that I can receive any letters, and send any; for the gentlemen under whose custody I am, as they are careful of their charges, so are they civil to my person." Whilst the mind and manners of Jeremy Taylor almost necessarily conciliated affection and esteem, his genius was so great and elastic

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that no powers of persecution could crush or subdue it. Such is ever the force of a truly great mind;

Merses profundo, pulchrior evenit.

Not only did he now complete his Ἐνιαυτὸς by the addition of twenty-five sermons, but about the beginning of this year he published his "*Unum Necessarium*, or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance." This work occasioned him more trouble and uneasiness than all the rest; for to a mind like that of its author, imprisonment and persecution from the adversaries of his church, must have been light evils compared with the reproaches and displeasure of its friends. That explication which the above-mentioned treatise offers of original sin, and the extent of man's corruption, was considered so much at variance with the doctrines taught in our articles, that it gave serious offence to his brethren of the church of England, besides provoking highly the bitter spirit of Calvinism: nor is it improbable that Taylor was led to push his sentiments so far, by his indignation at the high-wrought doctrines of the Calvinists broached at that period, which tended to represent a merciful Deity in the light of an arbitrary tyrant.*

The *Unum Necessarium* brought out a strong remonstrance from Taylor's worthy friend, Dr. Warner, to whom, in conjunction with the bishop of Salisbury and the clergy of England, a prefatory epistle was addressed, exculpating its author from the charge of heterodoxy. The venerable Bishop Sanderson is said to have deplored,

* Bishop Heber has many admirable comments on this work of Taylor's, vol. i. p. 74.

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with tears, this his departure from the cautious Scriptural decision of the church, whilst he himself fell into the lamentable error of bewailing the wretchedness of the times, which admitted not the suppression of such innovations *by authority*. Unable therefore to employ any other means, he endeavored, in two strong letters, but without success, to stir up an antagonist in Thomas Barlow, who succeeded afterwards to the see of Lincoln.

The author, however, of this objectionable work did not neglect his own defence; for he wrote a "Farther Explication of the Doctrine of Original Sin,"* and would have submitted it before publication to his friend the bishop of Rochester; but that prelate expressed himself unsatisfied, and declined the revision of a work which justified the original error. The letter which Taylor wrote to the bishop on this occasion, shows by its date, not only that he was now liberated from confinement, but that he had made considerable progress in his *Ductor Dubitantium*, that work on which he bestowed so much time and care, and to which he looked forward as the foundation of his fame. It is as follows:

"RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,—I wrote to your Lorp. about a fortnight or three weekes since, to wh. letter, although I believe an answer is upon the road, yet I thought fitt to prevent the arrival of by this addresse; together with which I send up to Royston a little tract, giving a further account of that doctrine which some of my brethren were lesse pleased with. And although I find, by the letters of my friends from thence, that the storme is over, and many of the contradictors professe themselves of my opinion, and pretend that they

* This now forms the 7th chapter of the *Unum Necessarium*.

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were so before, but thought it not fit to owne it, yet I have sent up these papers, by which (according to that counsel which your Lorp. in your prudence and charity was pleased to give me) I doe intend, and I hope they will effect it, [to] give satisfaction to the church and to my jealous brethren: besides, possibly, they may prevent a trouble to me, if peradventure any man should be *tam otiose negotiosus* as to write against me. For I am very desirous to be permitted quietly to my studies, that I may seasonably publish the first three books of my Cases of Conscience, which I am now preparing to the presse, and by which, as I hope to serve God and the church, so I doe designe to doe some honor to your Lorp., to whose charity and noblenesse I and my relatives are so much obliged. I have given order to Royston to consigne these papers into your Lorp.'s hands, to peruse, censure, acquit, or condemne, as your Lorp. pleases. If the written copy be too troublesome to read, your Lorp. may receive them from the presse, and yet suppresse them before the publication, *si minus probentur*. But if, by your Lorp.'s letters, which I suppose are coming to mee, I find any permission or counsel from your Lorp. that may cause me to alter or adde to what is sent up, I will obey it, and give Royston order not to post so fast, but that I may overtake him before these come abroad. But I was upon any termes willing to be quit of these, that I might no longer suffer or looke upon any thing that may retard my more beloved intendment.

"My Lord, I humbly begge your blessing upon

"Your Lorp.'s most obliged and most affectionate and thankful servant,

"Mandinam, November 17, 1655." "JER. TAYLOR.

There is also a letter extant from Taylor to Evelyn, on the subject which now caused him so much annoyance. The following extract will show the state of his mind at this time:—"I am well pleased that you have reade over my last booke: and give God thanks that I have reason to believe that it is accepted by God and by some good men. As for the censure of unconsenting persons, I expected it, and hope that themselves will be their owne re-

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proovers, and truth will be assisted by God, and shall prevaile, when all noises and prejudices shall be ashamed. My comfort is, that I have the honor to be an advocate for God's justice and goodnesse, and that ye consequent of my doctrine is that men may speake honor of God, and meanely of themselves. But I have also this last weeke sent up some papers, in which I make it appeare that the doctrine which I now have published was taught by the fathers within the first 400 years; and have vindicated it both from novelty and singularity. I have also prepared some other papers concerning this question, which I once had some thoughts to have published. But what I have already said, and now further explicated and justified, I hope may be sufficient to satisfy pious and prudent persons, who doe not love to goe *quà itur*, but *quà eundum est*."

Moreover it appears that Evelyn had lately renewed his solicitations with him to undertake some work for the comfort and direction of those members of the church who had been so long deprived of all regular pastors. In his answer to this application, after showing the Christian graces which persecution is calculated to nourish, and lamenting the danger of heresies, Taylor declares that he had prepared a mass of papers for such a work, but was prevented from executing his design, by the labor he thought it necessary to bestow on his "Cases of Conscience," or *Ductor Dubitantium*, which rendered him "unable to bear the cries of a clamorous conference." He also adds, that he knows not when he shall be able to visit London; "for," says he, "our being stripped of the little reliques of our fortune remaining after the shipwreck, leaves not cordage nor sailes sufficient to beare me thither:" whence we may conclude that his liberation had not been

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effected, but by the sacrifice of a great part of his wife's fortune.

His poverty, however, was so generously alleviated by his friends, amongst whom Dr. Warner, Dr. Sheldon, and his munificent benefactor Evelyn, were conspicuous, that he was enabled to appear in the metropolis much sooner than he expected; as appears by the following extract from Evelyn's Memoirs: (vol. i. p. 298.)

"12th April, 1656. Mr. Berkeley and Mr. Robert Boyle, (that excellent person and great virtuoso,) Dr. Taylor and Dr. Wilkins, dined with me at Saye's Court, when I presented Dr. Wilkins with my rare burning-glasse. In the afternoone we all went to Colonel Blount's, to see his new-invented plows."

"6th May. I brought Monsr le Franc, a young French Sorbonist, a proselyte, to converse with Dr. Taylor. They fell to dispute on original sin, in Latine, on a book newly published by the Doctor, who was much satisfied with the young man."

In the same entertaining work we find a letter from Taylor, expressing his pleasure at the kind treatment which he had experienced at his friend's *Tusculanum*, adding a just encomium on his pious and prudent use of temporal blessings, with some excellent advice and exhortation to employ his pen in the advancement of God's glory. It is natural to suppose that a man with so cultivated a mind as that of Taylor, who had been so long subjected to persecutions, and banished from the busy world, would keenly relish the delightful society to which his friend's hospitable mansion introduced him. It appears, however, that he did not at this time remain long in London, since his next letter to Evelyn is from Wales, and of the date,

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July 19, 1656. In this, after declining a very kind and liberal offer of an asylum near London, made him by Mr. Thurland,* he speaks of the approaching publication of his *Deus Justificatus*, and alludes in the following affecting terms to a domestic calamity which he had lately sustained: "I am in some little disorder, by reason of the death of a little child of mine, a boy that lately made us glad: but now he rejoices in his little orbe, while we thinke and sigh, and long to be as safe as he is."

In his two succeeding letters to Evelyn,† he dwells much in praise of that friend's translation of a part of Lucretius, encouraging him to proceed with it, and to add annotations. He also urges him to enrich the English tongue with a translation of the sacred hymns which may be found "respersed in all the rituals and church bookes," beginning with the celebrated *Dies iræ, dies illa*; which, he says, if it were changed a little, would be an excellent divine song. He still harps on the opposition made to his speculations on original sin, and the remonstrances addressed to him: and this uneasy feeling he displays still more strongly in his *Deus Justificatus*, which he had lately published, with a letter addressed to himself by Dr. Warner and two of his own in reply. These are all that are known of his publications this year: for Bishop Heber, though opposed, as he modestly observes, to the judgment of some of his ablest and most valued friends, gives sufficient reasons for discarding the Treatise on Artificial Handsomeness from the list of his genuine compositions.

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* Afterwards Sir Edward Thurland, and one of the barons of the Exchequer.

† Of the dates Aug. 23, and Oct. 15, 1656.

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In addition to Taylor's other troubles, he at this period felt another severe blow against his domestic happiness, of which he gives an account in the following pathetic letter, preserved in the British Museum; which, though it has no superscription, shows sufficient internal evidence of its having been addressed by Taylor to Evelyn:

"DEARE SIR,—I know you will either excuse or acquit, or at least pardon mee that I have so long seemingly neglected to make a returne to your so kind and friendly letter; when I shall tell you that I have passed through a great cloud which hath wetted mee deeper than the skin. It hath pleased God to send the small poxe and feavers among my children; and I have, since I received your last, buried two sweet, hopeful boyes; and have now but one sonne left, whom I intend, if it please God, to bring up to London before Easter, and then I hope to waite on you, and by your sweet conversation and other divertisements, if not to alleviate my sorrow, yet, at least, to entertain myself and keep me from too intense and actual thinkings of my trouble. Dear S^r^, will you doe so much for mee as to beg my pardon of Mr. Thurland, that I have yet made no returne to him for his so friendly letter and expressions? S^r^, you see there is too much matter to make excuse; my sorrow will, at least, render me an object of every good man's pity and commiseration. But, for myself, I bless God, I have observed and felt so much mercy in this angry dispensation of God, that I am almost transported, I am sure, highly pleased with thinking how infinitely sweet his mercies are when his judgments are so gracious. S^r^, there are many particulars in your letter which I would faine have answered; but, still, my little sadnesses intervene, and will yet suffer me to write nothing else: but that I beg your prayers, and that you will still own me to be,

"DEARE AND HONORED SIR,

"Your very affectionate friend and hearty servant,

"Feb. 22, 1654." "JER. TAYLOR.

After this calamity, it appears from Evelyn's diary, that

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Taylor was a resident, or perhaps a frequent visitor in London,* where, according to A. Wood, he officiated in a small and private episcopal chapel: but the poverty, which had so long afflicted him, was now relieved by an annual pension from his generous friend, whose liberality is acknowleged by Taylor in the following eloquent and grateful terms:

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"HONOR'D AND DEARE SIR,—A stranger came two nights since from you with a letter, and a token; full of humanity and sweetnesse that was, and this of charity. I know it is more blessed to give than to receive; and yet as I no ways repine at the Providence that forces me to receive, so neither can I envy that felicity of yours, not onely that you can, but that you doe give; and as I rejoyce in that mercy which daily makes decrees in heaven for my support and comfort, soe I doe most thankfully adore the goodnesse of God to you, whom he consignes to greater glories by the ministeries of these graces. But, sir, what am I, or what can I doe, or what have I done, that you thinke I have or can oblige you? Sir, you are too kinde to mee, and oblige me not onely beyond my merit, but beyond my modesty. I onely can love you, and honor you, and pray for you: and in all this I cannot say but that I am behind hand with you, for I have found so great effluxes of all your worthinesse and charities, that I am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affections of your heart. Sir, though you are beyond the reach of my returnes; and my services are very short of touching you, yet if it were pos-

* "25 March, 1657. Dr. Taylor showed me his Mss. of Cases of Conscience, or *Ductor Dubitantium*, now fitted for the presse.

"7th June. My fourth sonn was born, christened George, after my grandfather; Dr. Jer. Taylor officiating in the drawing-room.

"July 16. On Dr. Jer. Taylor's recommendation, I went to Eltham, to help one Moody, a young man, to that living, by my interest with the patron." Vol. i. pp. 304. 305. 306.

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sible for me to receive any commands, the obeying of which might signify my great regards of you, I could with some more confidence converse with a person so obliging; but I am oblig'd and asham'd, and unable to say so much as I should doe to represent myself to be,

"HONOR'D AND DEARE SIR,
"Your most affectionate and obliged
friend and servant,
"May 15, 1657." "JER. TAYLOR.

The favor alluded to, as in Taylor's power to confer on his friend, proved to be one which in itself showed the respect and esteem in which he was held by that friend and his family, being a request that he would come to christen his son. From Taylor's answer, we learn that he was at this time engaged in the composition of his beautiful Essay on Friendship, and that he had imparted his design to Evelyn.

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"HONOR'D AND DEARE SIR,—Your messenger prevented mine but an houre. But I am much pleased at the repetition of the divine favor to you in the like instances; that God hath given you another testimony of his love to your person, and care of your family; it is an engagement to you of new degrees of duty, which you cannot but superadde to the former because the principle is genuine and prolific, and all the emanations of grace are univocal and alike. Sir, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crown'd my innocent indeavors in my descriptions of Friendship, that I perceive there is a friendship beyond what I have fancied, and a real material worthinesse beyond the heights of the most perfect ideas: and I know now where to make my booke perfect, and by an appendix to outdoe the first Essay; for when any thing shall be observed to be wanting in my character, I can tell them where to seek the substance, more beauteous than the picture; and, by sending the readers of my booke to be spectators of your life and worthinesse, they shall

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see what I would faine have taught them, by what you really are. Sir, I shall, by the grace of God, wait on you to-morrow, and doe the office you require; and shall hope that your little one may receive blessings according to the heartinesse of the prayers which I shall then, and after, make for him: that then also I shall wayte on your worthy brothers, I see it is a designe both of your kindnesse and of the Divine Providence.

"SIR,

"I am your most affectionate and most faithful friend and servant,

"June 9, 1657." "JER. TAYLOR.

His next epistle seems to have been sent from Mandinam; and it contains a curious resolution of some doubts which Evelyn had expressed, relating to the immortality of the soul, and its intermediate state. Taylor's illustration of the soul's power to support a separate indestructible existence, by the fable of the sepulchral lamp, the flame of which would subsist, though the matter should be exhausted, "were it not for the accident of the circumflant air," shows the low state of chemical science in those days. Yet, though so plainly ignorant in the theory of combustion, he makes a curious guess respecting the nature of caloric, when he asserts that "fire itself is matter; is a substance." The nature of the soul is a subject which then exercised and perplexed the reasoning faculties of many eminent persons. Not to mention a list of grave divines, such as Baxter, Henry More, &c., it may be sufficient to say that a lord chief justice of that day, one of the greatest too that ever sat on the bench of Themis, left the knotty points of the law, to enter on a question still more intricate and abstruse; and three large volumes in manuscript,*

* These Mss. are preserved in the library of Eman. Coll. Camb.,

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concerning the origin, nature, and immortality of the soul, still remain to attest the patience, perseverance, and ingenuity of Sir Matthew Hale. As almost all the arguments which these worthies have produced on the subject are founded on theory and hypothesis, it cannot be said that their jargon has contributed to advance our knowlege.* In truth, when we argue about the nature of the soul, we can scarcely get beyond hypothesis, inasmuch as the nature of an immaterial substance can never be the object of our senses; no explanation can enable us to comprehend it: the soul's immortality however is satisfactorily established by the testimony of Scripture; and in this part of his argument alone does Taylor stand on firm ground. It is very remarkable that one who was not a bad general reasoner,

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where they were deposited by the late learned Dr. Parr, who once had an intention of publishing them, as also had the editor of this work: but a closer inspection, and a more careful examination of them, convinced him that such a course would neither benefit society, nor advance the fame of their illustrious author. The following passage in the opening of the Proem will give the reader some idea of their style: "The general distribution of entities into substance and accidents, and the ranging of the latter into these nine predicaments of quantity, quality, relation, situs, ubi, quando, habitus, actio, and passio, seems too narrow a distribution of things in nature. I shall therefore divide the things in nature into these three ranks. 1. Substance. 2. Virtue or Force. 3. Accidents which flow from one or the other, or both. Substance or hypostasis, therefore, so called, because it doth substare to those other two kinds of beings, namely, virtues or powers,—and accidents as the subject of their inexistence," &c. *Ohe! jam satis est.*

* Poor Sir Matthew is sadly perplexed in his reasoning about an immaterial substance; and is obliged to rest in the notion of the spirit or soul being, after all, nothing but matter in a highly rectified state.

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though no very accurate logician, should argue for the soul's separate existence in a state of consciousness, from its desire to be re-united to the body;* whilst the ground of this *petitio principii* is, "that it is so affirmed in *philosophy*." The answer however which he gives to his correspondent, who asks why St. Paul, "preaching Jesus and the resurrection," said nothing about the immortality of the soul, is very satisfactory; "because the resurrection of the body included and supposed that. If it had not, yet why need he preach that to them, which in Athens was believed by almost all their schools of learning?"

But the storm which Taylor had raised by his speculations on original sin, was not yet allayed; for the opposition no sooner ceased on the episcopalian side, with the general disclaimer of Dr. Warner, than it was taken up with great warmth by two presbyterians; Henry Jeanes, minister of Chedzoy, in Somersetshire, and John Gaule, of Staughton, in the county of Huntingdon. The latter is known only by this attack on a work, whose author did not condescend to notice him; but Jeanes was an antagonist not to be disregarded. He is described by A. Wood as "an excellent philosopher, a noted mathematician, and one well grounded in polemical divinity." He had once been strongly opposed to the puritans; but was remarkable for the moderation with which he spoke and acted against the party that he had deserted. The occasion of his controversy with Dr. Taylor is thus described, in an "Advertisement to the unprejudiced Reader," prefixed to his letters.

"One Mr. T. C. [Thomas Cartwright,] of Bridgewater,

* "For that which is dead," says he, "desires not."

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being at my house, brake out into extraordinary (that I say not excessive and hyperbolical) praises of Dr. Jeremy Taylor. I expressed my concurrence with him in great part; nay, I came nothing behind him in the just commendations of his admirable wit, great parts, quick and elegant pen, his abilities in critical learning, and his profound skill in antiquity: but, notwithstanding all this, I professed my dissent from some of his opinions which I judged to be erroneous; and I instanced in his 'Doctrine of Original Sin.' Now his 'Further Explication' of this then lay casually in the window, (as I take it) which hereon I took up, and turned unto the passage now under debate, and showed unto Mr. T. C. that therein were gross nonsense and blasphemy. He for his own part, with a great deal of modesty, forthwith declined all further dispute of the business, but withal he told me that he would, if I so pleased, give Dr. Taylor notice of what I said; whereunto I agreed, and, in a short time, he brought me from the Doctor a fair and civil invitation to send him my exceptions, and with it a promise of a candid reception of them; whereon I drew them up in a letter to Mr. T. C. the copy whereof followeth."

The controversy, thus begun, was carried on with much warmth, and, like too many theological disputes, was not unaccompanied with acrimony and intemperance; which faults, it must be confessed, are chiefly conspicuous on the side of Jeremy Taylor: in fact, the presbyterian had more skill and practice in the subtleties and technicalities of the schools; was more argumentative, as well as more sarcastic and cool than his opponent; who appears considerably embarrassed, out of his element, and not unwilling to escape, and leave the field clear to his adversary.

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During all this time, Taylor was steadily pursuing his labors on his great work, the *Ductor Dubitantium:* nevertheless, he this year (1657) brought out his Σύμβολον Ἠθικο-Πολεμικὸν, a reprint of several treatises in folio; amongst which appeared, for the first time, his "Discourse on Friendship," dedicated to Mrs. Katherine Philips, the "matchless Orinda," a literary lady, well known in her day; who had the honor of being eulogised by Jeremy Taylor during her life, and after her death by Cowley.

At the commencement of the ensuing year, our divine is discovered in the Tower of London as a prisoner: nor do I know any incident better calculated to declare what was the peculiar state of the nation at this period, than that which occasioned his arrest. It arose simply from the indiscretion of Royston, his bookseller, who had prefixed to his "Collection of Offices," a portrait of Christ in the attitude of prayer; a species of representation considered little less than idolatry, and prohibited by statute. This restraint on his liberty, however, was not of long duration; for Evelyn soon induced a friend to intercede for him with the lieutenant of the Tower; and that such intercession was successful, is evident from his appearance at Say's Court on the 25th of February, for the purpose of condoling with his benefactor on the loss of two promising sons.* Previously, however, to this visit of condolence, he had written a consolatory letter to his friend, which it would be unpardonable to omit:

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* "Feb. 25, 1658. Came Dr. Jeremy Taylor and my brothers, with other friends, to visit and condole with us." Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. i. p. 312.

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"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"DEARE SIR,—If dividing and sharing greifes were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you, you would find your streame much abated; for I account myselfe to have a great cause of sorrow, not onely in the diminution of the numbers of your joys and hopes, but in the losse of that pretty person, your strangely hopeful boy. I cannot tell all my owne sorrowes without adding to yours; and the causes of my real sadnesse in your losse are so just and so reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you, that you have great cause to mourne; so certain it is that greife does propagate as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, and by joining mine to yours, I doe but encrease the flame. 'Hoc me male urit,' is the best signification of my apprehension of your sad story. But, Sir, I cannot choose, but I must hold another and a brighter flame to you, it is already burning in your heart; and if I can but remove the darke side of the lanthorne, you have enoughe within you to warme yourselfe, and to shine to others. Remember, sir, your two boyes are two bright starres, and their innocence is secured, and you shall never hear evil of them agayne. Their state is safe, and heaven is given to them on very easy termes; nothing but to be borne and die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are; and amongst other things one of the hardnesses will be, that you must overcome even this just and reasonable greife; and, indeed, though the greife hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides that they are no loosers, but you are the person that complaines, doe but consider what you would have suffer'd for their interest: you [would] have suffered them to goe from you, to be great princes in a strange country: and if you can be content to suffer your owne inconvenience for their interest, you command [commend?] your worthiest love, and the question of mourning is at an end. But you have said and done well, when you looke on it as a rod of God; and he that so smites here will spare hereafter: and if you, by patience and submission, imprint the discipline on your own flesh, you kill the cause, and make the effect very tolerable; because it is, in some sense, chosen, and therefore, in no sense, insufferable. Sir,

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if you doe not looke to it, time will snatch your honor from you, and reproach you for not effecting that by Christian philosophy which time will doe alone. And if you consider, that of the bravest men in the world, we find the seldomest stories of their children, and the apostles had none, and thousands of the worthiest persons, that sound most in story, died childlesse: you will find it a rare act of Providence so to impose on worthy men a necessity of perpetuating their names by worthy actions and discourses, governments and reasonings. If the breach be never repair'd, it is because God does not see it fitt to be; and if you will be of his mind, it will be much the better. But, sir, you will pardon my zeale and passion for your comfort; I will readily confesse that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. Sir, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces; strive to be an example and a comfort to your lady, and by your wise counsel and comfort, stand in the breaches of your owne family, and make it appear that you are more to her than ten sons. Sir, by the assistance of Almighty God, I purpose to wait on you some time next weeke, that I may be a witnesse of your Christian courage and bravery; and that I may see, that God never displeases you, as long as the main stake is preserved, I meane your hopes and confidences of heaven. Sir, I shal pray for all that you can want, that is, some degrees of comfort and a present mind; and shal alwayes doe you honor, and faine also would doe you service, if it were in the power, as it is in the affections and desires of,

"DEAR SIR,

"Your most affectionate and obliged
friend and servant,

"Feb. 17, 1657-8." "JER. TAYLOR.

In June, 1658, Taylor changed the scene of his useful labors, by accepting an alternate lectureship in the town of Lisburne, at the N.E. extremity of Ireland. This poor piece of preferment was procured for him through the interest of Edward, earl of Conway, who possessed large estates in that neighborhood, for whose spiritual advantage

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he was anxious to engage the talents and virtues of so excellent a teacher. It appears from a letter to his friend Evelyn, dated May 12, 1628, that Taylor hesitated some time in accepting this office, so uncertain in its tenure, and so inferior to his deserts. "Concerning the thing itself," says he, "I am to give you this account. I like not the condition of being a lecturer under the dispose of another, nor to serve in my semicircle, where a presbyterian and myselfe shall be like Castor and Pollux, the one up and the other downe; which, methinkes, is like the worshipping the sun, and making him the deity, that we may be religious halfe the yeare, and every night serve another interest. Sir, the stipend is so inconsiderable, it will not pay the charge and trouble of remooving my selfe and family. It is wholly arbitrary: for the triers may overthrow it; or the vicar may forbid it; or the subscribers may die, or grow weary, or poore, or be absent. I beseech you, sir, pay my thankes to your friend, who had so much kindnesse for mee as to intend my benefitt: I thinke myselfe no lesse obliged to him and you than if I had accepted it."

His reluctance, however, was at length overcome; and in the month of June he left London, with many letters of recommendation to persons of rank or influence, and with a passport or protection, under the sign manual of Cromwell himself.

Arrived in Ireland, he settled at Portmore, about eight miles from Lisburne, in the neighborhood of Lord Conway's seat, a princely mansion built by Inigo Jones, near a fine expanse of water, called Lough Neagh, and a smaller lake called Lough Bag, each studded with a number of beautifully wooded islets. To these solitary spots, so delightful to his contemplative and imaginative mind, he was

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accustomed to retire, for the purpose of study or devotion. Two islands, the one on Lough Neagh and the other on Lough Bag, are still known, by tradition, as his favorite haunts; and here he brought to a conclusion his great work, the *Ductor Dubitantium.* That his situation was not one that could raise him to independence, is evident from the following passage in a letter to Evelyn, dated June 4, 1659:—"Sir, I doe account myselfe extremely obliged to your kindnesse and charity, in your continued care of me and bounty to me; it is so much the more, because I have almost from all men but yourselfe suffered some diminution of their kindnesse, by reason of my absence; for, as the Spaniard sayes, 'The dead and the absent have but few friends.' But, Sir, I account myselfe infinitely oblig'd to you, much for your pension, but exceedingly much more for your affection, which you have so signally expressed."

But fortune had not yet ceased from persecuting this excellent man. Notwithstanding his secluded abode, his quiet life, and his pious demeanor, articles were exhibited against him, before the privy-council of Ireland, by a person of the name of Tandy, whose malignity is accounted for in the following letter from Lord Conway, published in the "Rawdon Papers;" a document which does equal honor to his lordship and to his friend.

"I received a letter yesterday from Dr. Taylor: it hath almost broke my heart. Mr. Tandy hath exhibited articles against him to the lord deputy and council, so simple (as Colonel Hill writes), that it is impossible it should come to any thing: the greatest scandal being, that he christened Mr. Bryer's child with the sign of the cross. I have written to Hyrne to supply him with money for his vindication, as if it were my own business. I hope, therefore, when you come over, you will take him [Tandy] off from persecuting me,

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since none knows better than yourself whether I deserve the same at his hands. I would have sent you the doctor's letter to me, but that I know not whether this will ever come to you. The quarrel is, it seems, because he thinks Dr. Taylor more welcome to Hillsborough than himself.

"Kensington, June 14, 1659." "E. CONWAY."

In consequence of Tandy's information, a warrant from the privy council was immediately issued, which obliged Taylor to take a journey to Dublin in the middle of winter, and occasioned him a severe illness; though it seems that he was soon discharged from custody.* In his next letters to Evelyn, he speaks of "the sky being full of meteors and evil prognostics," alluding to the troubles newly arisen in England after the Protector's death: he speaks in a rather mystical strain of his religious feelings; laments that the evil circumstances of the times render the bounty bestowed on him by his friend afflictive and inconvenient; mentions his restoration to the blessing of health; and intimates his intention of visiting London in the ensuing month of April, 1660.

After a residence in Ireland of about two years, he undertook this journey, with no other view probably than to revisit his friends, and to see his *Ductor Dubitantium* through the press. It occurred, however, at a very fortunate juncture, since it gave him an opportunity of co-operating with the loyalists, and of subscribing his name to their celebrated declaration of the 24th of April, which brought him under the more immediate notice of the sovereign.

* No work of his appeared this year, (1659) except a complimentary letter in Latin, published in the Θανατολογία of Dr. John Stearne, Professor of Philosophy in the university of Dublin.

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To the restored monarch he now dedicated that great and long-cherished work, in the composition of which he had found consolation during the sad hours of calamity and imprisonment; which had varied his occupations in the hospitable shades of Golden Grove, and had formed a portion of his contemplations amidst the solemn grandeur of Lough Neagh. In this treatise of moral theology, intended to be "a Rule of Conscience in all her general measures, and a great instrument in determining all her cases," Taylor pours forth the abundant treasures of his multifarious learning; adorning a barren subject with rich flowers of eloquence, and working up a series of discussions apparently most unattractive into a course of interesting and agreeable study. He has also handled his subject with more than his ordinary powers of argumentation and casuistical reasoning: but his habits of thinking had too much of the imaginative and excursive cast to fit him thoroughly for that severe method of analysis which this particular train of investigation demands. Hence we find some obliquity of sentiment mingled with many right principles: conceptions clear in themselves are overlaid with words and metaphors; secondary motives are sometimes substituted for primary springs of moral action; and the determination of several questions is rendered doubtful by overstrained and overstated arguments on both sides. Still it is the work of an acute, vigorous, contemplative genius: it was also well adapted to the age in which it first appeared; when the minds of the puritans, and even of some well-wishers to the church, were distracted by conscientious doubts concerning many external rites and ceremonies; whilst the Romanists, still very numerous, and elated with the hope of recovering their ascendency, substituted, in the

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place of fixed moral and religious principles, a minute unprofitable casuistry, which made nice distinctions between mortal and venial transgressions, and found palliatives for every kind of sin. In this state of things it was highly expedient that a more salutary rule of conscience should be established, to soothe those innocent scruples, and to counteract this mischievous policy: but many circumstances were adverse to the adoption of this proposed by Taylor, and have since opposed its progress. Its birth was almost unnoticed amidst the various interests and the feverish excitements which agitated men's minds at the restoration of the monarchy: the length and uninviting nature of the subject kept it in oblivion during the degenerate times that followed; and afterwards it became superseded by productions more compressed, methodical, and profound. Thus of all our author's writings, that which he labored most, and from which he expected most, has been least popular and least read; "the world," as Bishop Heber observes, "having been less anxious to study, than to talk of and admire it."

After the completion of so great an undertaking, most men would have sought some relaxation from the severity of mental labor; but Taylor's mind appears to have been indefatigable, and to have found sufficient relaxation in the variety of its pursuits. In this same year therefore, (1660) he brought out his "Worthy Communicant," accompanied by a very beautiful sermon preached at the funeral of Sir George Dalstone, and dedicated the volume to the dowager princess of Orange, who was at this time on a visit of congratulation to her brother King Charles II. and though much may be said, and much has been said by his excellent biographer, in excuse for that strain of flattery

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which he addresses, not only to the princess, but to the king, yet we cannot but regret to see the name of Jeremy Taylor sanctioning an odious though prevailing fashion, which tended to corrupt the moral principles of those who received, and of those who offered the adulation.

CHAPTER IV.

Of all the episcopal clergy who had suffered during the times of rebellion and usurpation, no one had stronger claims on the restored government than Dr. Taylor; whether we consider his exalted piety, his liberal principles, his profound learning, his meritorious labors, his attachment to the constitution, or his sufferings in its behalf. Accordingly, on the 6th of August, 1660, he was nominated to the bishopric of Down and Connor, in that land which for some time past had been his place of refuge. It may appear surprising that a man of his pre-eminent character and abilities should not have been promoted to one of the highest stations in the English church: a probable reason, however, is drawn by Bishop Heber, for the fixing him in Ireland, from his alliance by marriage with the king, a dissolute and immoral prince, who "would not be unwilling to remove to a distance a person whose piety might lead him to reprove many parts of his conduct, and who would have a plausible pretence for speaking more freely than the rest of the dignified clergy."

Soon after his elevation to the bench, Bishop Taylor was elected, through the recommendation of the marquis, afterwards duke of Ormond, vice-chancellor of the university of Dublin; which office he discharged with exemplary zeal and

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diligence,* at a time when the disorders, occasioned by the late troubles in the academical revenues and discipline, would have appalled a heart less stout, and distracted a head less wise than his.

The Irish church establishment had suffered still more by revolutionary commotions than that of the sister isle: insomuch, that by the fierceness of puritanical Calvinists, the rebellious conduct of Roman Catholics, and a remorseless system of military despotism, the regular Protestant clergy had been almost swept from the island; and the hopes of that party which had succeeded to their places began to rise, when the zeal and perseverance of Ormond, seconded by a small majority of Irish nobility and gentry, attached to ancient institutions, procured the royal mandate for filling up the three archiepiscopal, and eleven episcopal sees, that were found vacant at the restoration. Accordingly Dr. Bramhall, late bishop of Derry, who had been advanced to the primacy, assisted by the bishops of Raphoe, Kilmore, and Ossory, proceeded to consecrate the whole number of prelates, in the cathedral of Saint Patrick, on the 27th of June, 1660-1.

After a long interval of disuse, this imposing ceremony

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* "In the mean time, Taylor undertook the task of collecting, arranging, revising, and completing the body of statutes which Bishop Bedell had left unfinished;—in settling the form and conditions under which degrees were to be conferred;—in appointing public lectures and disputations;—and in laying the basis of the distinguished reputation which the university of Dublin has since retained, in spite of its unfortunate situation in a luxurious metropolis, and the disadvantageous competition which it has been compelled to carry on with the elder and more extensive establishments of the sister kingdom."—Heber, vol. i. p. 159.

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was now performed with an extraordinary degree of solemnity and pomp, the office of preacher being assigned to the pious and eloquent Dr. Taylor, who, in his discourse from Luke xii. 43. took an able and comprehensive view of the origin of episcopacy, and enforced its high duties and responsibility with all the powers of language, all the weight of reason, and all the authority of Scripture.

This sermon was published by command of the lords justices and the primate: and so duly appreciated were his great talents and high character, that he was selected to preach before the two Houses of Parliament on the 8th of May, and again before the primate, at his metropolitan visitation of Down and Connor. Nor was this all: in February he had been nominated a member of the Irish privy-council, and in the following April the small adjacent diocese of Dromore was committed to his care, "on account of his virtue, wisdom, and industry."* But this advancement to dignity brought with it any thing rather than diminution of fatigue and trouble. Indeed, no one who considers the state of the dioceses which he was called on to administer, can help thinking, that, even in his episcopal palace, he must have sometimes sighed after the peaceful shades of Golden Grove, or the solitary isles of Lough Neagh. He had, in truth, a field before him which might have challenged the labors of an apostle; and luckily he had within him as much of the apostolical spirit as any man in these latter days has been blessed with. Finding the places of the episcopalian clergy supplied by sturdy champions of the covenant, taken for the most part

* These are the words of the writ under the privy seal.

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from the west of Scotland, where the principles of hostility to the established church were most vigorous, he mingled with the duties of his high office the purest charity, and the most exemplary spirit of reconciliation. His anxious wish was to compose all religious dissensions: hence he frequently invited the puritanical clergy to friendly conferences, and endeavored to soften their asperity, and to remove their prejudices by his kind and constant attentions.

"In answer to these advances," says Bishop Heber, "the pulpits resounded with exhortations to stand by the covenant even unto blood; with bitter invectives against the episcopal order, and against Taylor more particularly: while the preachers entered into a new engagement among themselves, 'to speak with no bishop, and to endure neither their government nor their persons.' The virtues and eloquence of Taylor, however, were not without effect on the laity; who were, at the same time, offended by the refusal of their pastors to attend a public conference. The nobility and gentry of the three dioceses, with one single exception, came over, by degrees, to the bishop's side; and we are even assured by Carte, that during the two years which intervened before the enforcement of the act of uniformity, the great majority of the ministers themselves had yielded, if not to his arguments, to his persevering kindness and Christian example."

Occupied as he now was in the affairs of his diocese, he could not possibly contribute much to the edification of the public through the press. The only works he published this year, beside his consecration sermon, and that before the parliament, was a small, but excellent

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manual of rules and directions for his clergy; of which he speaks much more slightly than it deserves, in the following letter to Evelyn:

"TO JOHN EVELYN, ESQUIRE.

"Dublin, November 16, 1661.

"DEARE SIR,—Your own worthinesse and the obligations you have so often pass'd on me have imprinted in me so great a value and kindnesse to your person, that I thinke myselfe not a little concerned in yourselfe and all your relations, and all the great accidents of your life. Doe not therefore thinke me either impertinent or otherwise without employment, if I doe with some care and earnestnesse inquire into your health and the present condition of your affaires. Sir, when shal we expect your 'Terrestrial Paradise,' your excellent observations and discourses of gardens, of which I had a little posy presented to me by your owne kind hand: and makes me long for more. Sir, I and all that understand excellent fancy, language and deepest loyalty, are bound to value your excellent panegyric, which I saw and read with pleasure. I am pleased to read your excellent mind in so excellent [an] idea; for as a father in his son's face, so is a man's soule imprinted in all the pieces that he labors. Sir, I am so full of publicke concernes and the troubles of businesse in my diocese, that I cannot yet have leisure to thinke of much of my old delightful imployment. But I hope I have brought my affaires almost to a consistence, and then I may returne againe. Royston (the bookseller) hath two Sermons and a little Collection of Rules for my Clergy, which had beene presented to you if I had thought [them] fit for notice, or to send to my dearest friends.

"Dear Sir, I pray let me hear from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me if you will continue to love me still. I pray give my love and deare regards to worthy Mr. Thurland: let me heare of him and his good lady, and how his son does. God blesse you and yours, him and his. I am,

"DEARE SIR,

"Your most affectionate friend,

"JEREM. DUNENSIS."

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This is the last letter known to have passed between these two friends, though Taylor's excellent biographer expresses himself unwilling to believe that their correspondence now ended;* though he confesses "that it appears probable, from some expressions of Taylor's, that it had already begun to slacken, and that this languor had first commenced on the part of Evelyn:" and on his part it was natural to commence. Great and urgent as Bishop Taylor's occupations, alluded to in the above letter, must have been, he would probably be obliged to omit some of those attentions, in writing or otherwise, which he had been accustomed to pay to his friend: and as he was now raised in rank and station far above that friend, to whose bounty he was so much indebted, any appearance of neglect would give deep offence; whereas neglect itself before would have excited only a mild rebuke.

During this year (1661) death robbed him of another object of his dearest affections; for on the 10th of March, Edward, his only surviving son by his second wife, was buried at Lisburne: but private afflictions seemed only to increase the desire which this great and good man had of becoming useful to his fellow-creatures; for in this same year he repaired his ruinated cathedral at Dromore, and rebuilt the choir at his own expense, whilst his wife seconded his liberality by contributing the communion-plate for its service.

During this year also he invited over to Ireland Dr. George Rust, one of the fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, as a person well qualified for the deanery of Connor, which was then expected to become vacant, and to

* Heber's Life of Taylor, vol. i. p. 176.

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which soon afterwards he had the power of appointing him. Dr. Rust succeeded his friend and patron in the bishopric of Dromore; he also preached his funeral-sermon, in which many incidents respecting the life and manners of his illustrious predecessor are collected together.

Little is known of Taylor's domestic affairs about this time, except that he occupied a house and farm near Portmore, and lived on terms of great friendship and intimacy with the Conway family: which particulars are made known to us through that curious book, the *Sadducismus Triumphatus* of Glanville, where he relates the strange appearance of a ghost to one Taverner, a servant of the earl of Donegal, near to Drumbridge, in the diocese of Connor.* The bishop, in this case, furnished Taverner with a series of interrogatories to be proposed to the spirit, if it should appear again: and for these he has been charged, not only with blind credulity, but with presumption, and a vain curiosity of prying into forbidden secrets; when, in fact, the questions were intended merely to puzzle the person whom he suspected of personifying the ghost, and thus to detect the imposture.

Occupied as Taylor now was with the extensive concerns of his dioceses, and sedulously intent on improving the wild, uncultivated race of people amongst whom his lot was cast, he was obliged partially to intermit his favorite studies; so that in the year 1662 he put nothing to the press except one sermon, preached before the university of Dublin, to which he gave the title of *Via Intelli-*

* The whole story with that consequent on it, relating to David Hunter, the bishop's own neat-herd, is extracted from the original work, and given by Bishop Heber, vol. ii. p. 245.

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gentiæ; and which, besides all the dissuasive force and attractive beauty of his general composition, exhibits very sound views and clear expositions of evangelical doctrine. It has been thought, indeed, that some passages imply an abandonment, or at least a qualification, of his large and liberal notions of religious toleration; but from such an imputation he is cleared by Bishop Heber, who seems inclined to rank this amongst the best and purest of Taylor's theological works. Many passages might be selected to justify this opinion: few, perhaps, are better calculated for such a purpose than that which follows:—"There is in every righteous man a new vital principle: the spirit of God is the spirit of wisdom, and teaches us by secret inspirations, by proper arguments, by actual persuasions, by personal applications, by effects and energies; and as the soul of a man is the cause of all his vital operations, so is the spirit of God the life of that life, and the cause of all actions and productions spiritual: and the consequence of this is what St. John tells us of, 'Ye have received the unction from above, and that anointing teacheth you all things:' all things of some one kind; that is certainly, 'all things that pertain to life and godliness; all that by which a man is wise and happy.' We see this by common experience: unless the soul have a new life put into it, unless there be a vital principle within, unless the Spirit of Life be the informer of the spirit of man, the word of God will be as dead in operation as the body in its powers and possibilities. Which principle divers fanatics, both among us, and in the church of Rome, misunderstanding, look for new revelations, and expect to be conducted by ecstasy, and will not pray but in a transfiguration, and live on raptures and extravagant expectations,

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and separate themselves from the conversation of men by affectations, by new measures and singularities, and destroy order, and despise government, and live on illiterate phantasms and ignorant discourses. These men belie the Holy Ghost: for the Spirit of God makes men wise; it is an evil spirit that makes them fools. The Spirit of God makes us 'wise unto salvation:' it does not spend its holy influences in disguises and convulsions of the understanding: God's Spirit does not destroy reason, but heightens it; he never disorders the beauties of government, but is a God of order; it is the spirit of humility, and teaches no pride; he is to be found in churches and pulpits, on altars, and in the doctor's chair; not in conventicles and mutinous corners of a house: he goes in company with his own ordinances, and makes progressions by the measures of life; his infusions are just as our acquisitions, and his graces pursue the methods of nature: that which was imperfect he leads on to perfection; and that which was weak he makes strong: he opens the heart, not to receive murmurs, or to attend to secret whispers, but to hear the word of God; and then he opens the heart, and creates a new one; and without this new creation, this new principle of life, we may hear the word of God, but we can never understand it; we hear the sound, but are never the better: unless there be in our hearts a secret conviction by the Spirit of God, the Gospel itself is a dead letter, and worketh not in us the light and righteousness of God."

In 1663 Taylor published, besides four sermons,* his Χρίσις Τελειωτική, "A Defence and Introduction to the

* Three of these were preached at Christ Church, Dublin; the fourth at the funeral of Archbishop Bramhall.

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Rite of Confirmation," which he has injudiciously exalted too near to the nature of a sacrament, and thereby derogated too much from the more important rite of baptism. To this discourse he prefixed an epistle dedicatory to the duke of Ormond; the following extract from which exhibits a melancholy picture of the country to which his labors were now confined:—"Our churches are demolished, much of the revenues irrecoverably swallowed by sacrilege, and digested by an unavoidable impunity; religion is infinitely divided, and parted into formidable sects; the people are extremely ignorant, and wilful by inheritance, superstitiously irreligious, and incapable of reproof." In truth, the miserable state of mental ignorance and barbarism to which the Romish faith had reduced the Irish population, called forth a remarkable tribute to the character and attainments of Bishop Taylor. This consisted in a request made to him, by the collective body of Irish prelates, to write something that might stem the torrent of idolatrous superstition, which carried so many evils in its train. Accordingly he composed his "Dissuasive from Popery," and published it in 1664, though with little hope of effecting much good, as appears from the following passage in his preface: "Having given this sad account, why it was necessary that my lords the bishops should take care to do what they have done in this affair, and why I did consent to be engaged in this controversy, otherwise than I love to be; and since it is not a love of trouble and contention, but charity to the souls of the poor deluded Irish; there is nothing remaining, but that we humbly desire of God to accept and to bless this well-meant labor of love; and that, by some admirable ways of his providence, he will be pleased to convey to

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them the notices of their danger and their sin, and to deobstruct the passages of necessary truth to them; for we know the arts of their guides, and that it will be very hard that the notice of these things shall ever be suffered to arrive to the common people; but that which hinders will hinder, until it be taken away: however, we believe and hope in God for remedy."

About this time his constitution, tried as it had been by incessant study, and harassed by so many calamities, began to give way. Moreover, the severest of all his domestic afflictions now pressed sore on him; the eldest of his two surviving sons being killed in a duel by a brother officer; and the second, who had been intended for the church, disappointing his father's hopes both in his profession and in his conduct.* The death of this latter, which happened in the end of July, 1667, could hardly have reached the bishop's ears before his own dissolution, at Lisburne, on the 3rd of August, in the 55th year of his age, and the seventh of his episcopacy. He was buried at Dromore, in the cathedral church there, which was so much indebted to his bounty; and though no monument has been erected by others to his memory, he has left an imperishable one in his own works. His widow and three daughters survived him: the eldest died unmarried; the second, Mary, was united to Dr. Francis Marsh, afterwards archbishop of Dublin, whose descendants, of the same name, are numerous and wealthy: the third, Joanna, married Edward Harrison, Esq.

* He became the favorite companion, and at length the secretary, of Villiers, duke of Buckingham, dying of a decline at the house of his patron at Baynard's Castle, and was buried in St. Margaret's church, Westminster.

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of Maralave; whose daughter married Sir Cecil Wray, descendants of whom are still in existence.* Bishop Taylor, at his death, left in manuscript a "Discourse on Christian Consolation," which was printed in 1671; and also "Contemplations on the State of Man," first given to the public in 1684; a work which has run through numerous editions, and contains many of his peculiar beauties; though perhaps his characteristic faults are more prominently apparent throughout it.

With regard to the general character of Bishop Taylor, little remains that can be added to the description already given. In person he was very comely, as appears from the several portraits prefixed to his works, representing him with a grave, but engaging and intelligent countenance; which, together with the gracefulness of his person, is said to have contributed much, in his youth, to the effect of his eloquence. Of his domestic habits and manners there is not much known, though he seems to have had the happy talent of acquiring and retaining friends, as well as of conciliating enemies, "Nature," Dr. Rust observes, "having befriended him much in his constitution; for he was a person of a most sweet and obliging humor, of great candor and ingenuity; and there was so much of salt and fineness of wit, and prettiness of address, in his familiar discourses, as made his conversation have all the pleasantness of a comedy, and all the usefulness of a sermon: his soul was made up of harmony, and he never spake but he charmed his hearers, with the clearness of his reason; whilst all his words, and his very tones and cadences, were

* An account of these different branches of the bishop's descendants is given in Bishop Heber's Appendix.

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strangely musical." That he was amiable in domestic life seems probable, not only from the absence of all intimation to the contrary, but from the general harmony of his disposition, from the manner in which he speaks of the death of his children, and from his frequent allusions to scenes of domestic happiness, particularly in his sermons on the Marriage Ring. As a theologian, he partook rather largely of those faults which characterised the age in which he flourished, when Biblical criticism and the best rules of Scriptural interpretation were less studied and less known than they are at present: moreover, to these he added others, arising from his own peculiar genius, the impetuosity of which often led him beyond his mark, and not unfrequently to contradict himself. As a writer he has been denominated by some "the Homer," and by others "the Shakspeare" of divines. His pulpit oratory has been already noticed: his general eloquence may be compared to one of those vast and almost interminable rivers of the new world, sometimes flowing soft and clear as it laves the grassy margin of its banks; sometimes rushing impetuously along in a more contracted channel; here spreading itself over a broad but shallow bed; and again flowing deep but turbid: now pouring at once all its foaming waters down the precipitous cataract; and then gliding with majestic course towards the bosom of the ocean.

Perhaps, however, the most admirable part of his character was that which he exhibited as a Christian bishop, presenting as noble a pattern for imitation as the annals of our church can afford: for to a fine though ardent temper, gentle manners, deep humility, unbounded charity, and

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holy zeal, were united an acute and vigorous intellect, extensive learning, and a free spirit of inquiry in the pursuit of truth. Few men have existed so anxious to extend their sphere of usefulness, and few have been so successful in their endeavors as Bishop Taylor.

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APPENDIX.

Extract from a Manuscript intitled "Annales Collegii de Gonvile et Caius," preserved in the Archives of Caius College, Cambridge.

1635.

Hoc anno, 1°. Februarii, Jeremias Taylor, Cantabrigiæ natus, Artium Mag^r. et hujus Collegii socius ex fundatione Persiana, sponte resignavit jus suum omne ad dictum sodalitium. Huic erat summum ingenii acumen, quod industria non vulgari instruxit et polivit; adeo ut supra ætatem saperet, et magnis in ecclesia muneribus subeundis par esset. Anno enim uno aut altero a gradu magisterii suscepto, ad fungendum concionatoris sive prælectoris munere in Ecclesia Cathedrali D^vi. Pauli Londini vocatus est, per eos, quorum fideī illius prælecturæ (a Colleto institutæ) cura commissa erat; quod quidem officium non nisi viris ætate maturis, et eruditione eminentioribus mandari solitum erat. Taylorus vero hic noster talem hic se præstitit virum, ut admirationem sui apud auditores, doctissimos quamvis, excitaret: hinc, fama illum undique celebrante, ad notitiam Reverendissimi Archipræsulis Cantuariensis Gu. Laud pervenit; qui viri merita non minora fama deprehendens, suum esse voluit, ac protinus eum, a Collegio nostro amotum, socium Collegii D^vi. Johannis Oxonii eligi curavit; ubi, inter viros claros consti-

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tutus, famæ detrimentum nunquam passus est, sed, doctoratus in SS. theologia gradu insignitus, splenduit magis. Is, uxore ducta, ad rectoriam de Uppingham in comitatu Rutlandiæ promotus est, ubi vigilantissimi pastoris munere functus est, quamdiu tumultus militares non obstrepebant: sed, civili flagrante bello, Taylorus, quod regias tuebatur partes, fugatus est, variisque casibus jactatus, tandem in Walliam compulsus est; ubi, ut poterat, latuit. Non tamen ecclesiæ inutilis vixit, sed libris editis episcopatum strenue asseruit, orthodoxæ fidei patronum se præbuit, et ad pietatem aspirantes tum scriptis, tum exemplo, (ut fidi pastoris est) præivit. Libros ab eo scriptos non facile est recensere: plures tamen, quos vir pius et doctus meditatus est, speramus lucem visuros, ad ecclesiæ commodum et Dei gloriam.

[Multa, quæ de Tayloro nostro hic referuntur, in sequentibus annis gesta sunt; sed hic simul congessimus, ut dignissimi viri elogium melius uno intuitu spectandum proponeretur.]

Extract from the Register of the Parish of the Holy Trinity in Cambridge.

"1589. Edmond Taylor, churchwarden.

1605. Nathaniel Taylor and Mary Dean married the 13th of October.

1606. Edmond Taylor, churchwarden.

—— Edmond, son of Nathaniel and Mary Taylor, bapt. August 3.

1607. Edmond Taylor, buried 22nd September.

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1609. Mary Taylor, daughter of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 11th June.

1611. Nathaniel Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 8 December.

1613. Jeremy Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 15 August.

1616. Thomas Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 21 July.

1619. John Taylor, son of Nathaniel and Mary, bapt. 13 April.

1621. Churchwardens, Tobias Smith and Nathaniel Taylor."

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TWENTY-FIVE SERMONS

PREACHED AT

GOLDEN GROVE;

BEING FOR THE

WINTER HALF-YEAR,

BEGINNING ON ADVENT SUNDAY, AND ENDING ON THE SUNDAY AFTER ASCENSION.

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TO

RIGHT HONORABLE

AND TRULY NOBLE

RICHARD LORD VAUGHAN,

EARL OF CARBERY, &c.

MY LORD,

I HAVE now, by the assistance of God, and the advantages of your many favors, finished a year of sermons; which if, like the first year of our Saviour's preaching, it may be *annus acceptabilis*, 'an acceptable year' to God, and his afflicted handmaid the church of England, a relief to some of her new necessities, and an institution or assistance to any soul; I shall esteem it among those honors and blessings, with which God uses to reward those good intentions, which himself first puts into our hearts, and then recompenses on our heads. My lord, they were first presented to God in the ministries of your family: for this is a blessing, for which your lordship is to bless God, that your family is, like Gideon's fleece, irriguous with a dew from heaven, when much of the vicinage is dry; for we have cause to remember, that Isaac complained of the Philistines, who filled up his wells with stones, and rubbish, and left no beverage for the flocks: and therefore they could give no milk to them that waited on the flocks, and the flocks could not be gathered, nor fed, nor defended. It was a design of ruin, and had in it the greatest hostility, and so it hath been lately;

——————————————undique totis
Usque adeo turbatur agris. En! ipse capellas
Protinus æger ago; hanc etiam vix, Tityre, duco.

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But, my lord, this is not all: I would fain also complain, that men feel not their greatest evil, and are not sensible of their danger, nor covetous of what they want, nor strive for that which is forbidden them; but that this complaint would suppose an unnatural evil to rule in the hearts of men; for who would have in him so little of a man, as not to be greedy of the word of God, and of holy ordinances, even therefore because they are so hard to have? and this evil, although it can have no excuse, yet it hath a great and a certain cause; for the word of God still creates new appetites, as it satisfies the old; and enlarges the capacity, as it fills the first propensities of the Spirit. For all spiritual blessings are seeds of immortality, and of infinite felicities, they swell up to the comprehensions of eternity; and the desires of the soul can never be wearied, but when they are decayed: as the stomach will be craving every day, unless it be sick and abused. But every man's experience tells him now, that because men have not preaching, they less desire it; their long fasting makes them not to love their meat; and so we have cause to fear, the people will fall to an atrophy, then to a loathing of holy food; and then God's anger will follow the method of our sin, and send a famine of the word and sacraments. This we have the greatest reason to fear, and this fear can be relieved by nothing but by notices and experience of the greatness of the Divine mercies and goodness.

Against this danger in future, and evil in present, as you and all good men interpose their prayers, so have I added this little instance of my care and services; being willing to minister in all offices and varieties of employment, that so I may by all means save some, and confirm others; or at least that myself may be accepted of God in my desiring it. And I think I have some reasons to expect a special mercy in this, because I find, by the constitution of the divine providence, and ecclesiastical affairs, that all the great necessities of the church have been served by the zeal of preaching in public, and other holy ministries in public or private, as they could be had. By this the Apostles planted the church, and the primitive bishops supported the faith of martyrs, and the hardiness of confessors, and the austerity of the retired. By this they confounded heretics, and evil livers, and taught them the ways of the Spirit, and them without pertinacy, or without excuse. It was

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preaching that restored the splendor of the church, when barbarism, and wars, and ignorance, either sat in, or broke the doctor's chair in pieces: for then it was that divers orders of religions, and especially of preachers, were erected; God inspiring into whole companies of men a zeal of preaching. And by the same instrument, God restored the beauty of the church, when it was necessary she should be reformed; it was the assiduous and learned preaching of those whom God chose for his ministers in that work, that wrought the advantages and persuaded those truths, which are the enamel and beauty of our churches. And because, by the same means, all things are preserved by which they are produced, it cannot but be certain, that the present state of the church requires a greater care and prudence in this ministry than ever; especially since, by preaching, some endeavor to supplant preaching, and by intercepting the fruits of the flocks, to dishearten the shepherds from their attendances.

My Lord, your great nobleness and religious charity have taken from me some portions of that glory, which I designed to myself in imitation of St. Paul towards the Corinthian church; who esteemed it his honor to preach to them without a revenue; and though also, like him, I have a trade, by which, as I can be more useful to others, and less burdensome to you; yet to you also, under God, I owe the quiet, and the opportunities, and circumstances of that, as if God had so interweaved the support of my affairs with your charity, that he would have no advantages pass on me, but by your interest; and that I should expect no reward of the issues of my calling, unless your Lordship have a share in the blessing.

My Lord, I give God thanks that my lot is fallen so fairly, and that I can serve your Lordship in that ministry, by which I am bound to serve God, and that my gratitude and my duty are bound up in the same bundle; but now, that which was yours by a right of propriety, I have made public, that it may still be more yours, and you derive to yourself a comfort, if you shall see the necessity of others served by that which you heard so diligently, and accepted with so much piety, and I am persuaded have entertained with that religion and obedience, which is the duty of all those who know, that sermons are arguments against us, unless they make us better, and that no sermon is received as it ought, unless it

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makes us quit a vice, or be in love with virtue; unless we suffer it, in some instance or degree, to do the work of God on our souls.

My Lord, in these sermons I have meddled with no man's interest, that only excepted, which is eternal; but if any man's vice was to be reproved, I have done it with as much severity as I ought. Some cases of conscience I have here determined; but the special design of the whole is, to describe the greater lines of duty by special arguments: and if any witty censurer shall say, that I tell him nothing but what he knew before; I shall be contented with it, and rejoice that he was so well instructed, and wish also that he needed not a remembrancer: but if, either in the first, or in the second; in the institution of some, or the reminding of others, I can do God any service; no man ought to be offended, that sermons are not like curious inquiries after new nothings, but pursuances of old truths. However, I have already many fair earnests, that your Lordship will be pleased with this tender of my service, and expression of my great and dearest obligations, which you daily renew or continue on, my noblest Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate
and most obliged subject,
JEREMY TAYLOR.

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PRAYERS.

A PRAYER BEFORE SERMON.

O LORD God, fountain of life, giver of all good things, who givest to men the blessed hope of eternal life by our Lord Jesus Christ, and hast promised thy Holy Spirit to them that ask him; be present with us in the dispensation of thy holy word [and sacraments]:* grant that we, being preserved from all evil by thy power, and, among the diversities of opinions and judgments in this world, from all errors and false doctrines, and led into all truth by the conduct of thy Holy Spirit, may for ever obey thy heavenly calling: that we may not be only hearers of the word of life, but doers also of good works, keeping faith and a good conscience, living an unblameable life, usefully and charitably, religiously and prudently, in all godliness and honesty before thee our God, and before all the world, that, at the end of our mortal life, we may enter into the light and life of God, to sing praises and eternal hymns to the glory of thy name in eternal ages, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

In whose Name let us pray, in the words which Himself commanded, saying,

OUR Father, which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name; thy kingdom come; thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven: give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our tres-

* This clause is to be omitted, if there be no sacrament that day.

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passes, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil: for thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

A PRAYER AFTER SERMON.

LORD, pity and pardon, direct and bless, sanctify and save us all. Give repentance to all that live in sin, and perseverance to all thy sons and servants for his sake, who is thy beloved, and the foundation of all our hopes, our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honor and glory, praise and adoration, love and obedience, now and for evermore. Amen.

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SERMONS.

SUMMARY OF SERMON I.

2 CORINTHIANS, CHAP. V.—VERSE 10.

PART I.

VIRTUE and vice are essentially distinguished from each other: this distinction necessary for the well-being of men in private, and in societies, &c. But it is not enough that the world hath armed itself against vice, and taken the part of virtue: reasons for this given: therefore God hath so ordained it, that there shall be a day, when every word and every action shall receive its just recompense: farther consideration of the things for which we shall be called to account. On that day all the evils of the world shall be amended, and the dispensations of Providence all vindicated. This is what the Apostle in the next verse calls *the terror of the Lord:* reasons for this in a consideration, 1. of the persons that are to be judged, with the attendant circumstances, &c.; 2. of the judge and his judgment-seat; 3. of the sentence then to be pronounced, &c.

I. The persons that are to be judged: even all the world; kings and priests, nobles and learned, the wise and the foolish, the rich and the poor, the tyrant and the oppressed, shall all appear together to receive their symbol; which will be so far from abating any part of their terror, that it will greatly in-

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crease it: this fully shown, and illustrated by examples of the deluge, and a great pestilence. Moreover, this general consideration may be heightened by four or five circumstances.

1. We may consider what an infinite multitude of angels, and men, and women, shall then appear: all the kingdoms of all ages: all the armies of heaven, and the nine orders of blessed spirits.

2. In this great multitude we shall meet all those, who by their example and holy precepts have enlightened us, and taught us to walk in the paths of virtue. And then it shall be remembered how we mocked at their counsel, or forgot their precepts, &c.

3. There also shall be seen all those converts, who, on easier terms, with less experience and grace, with less preaching, and more untoward circumstances, suffered the word of God to prosper on their spirits, and were obedient to the heavenly call. There the men of Nineveh *shall stand upright in judgment.* There shall appear against us the men of Capernaum, the Queen of the South, and the men of Berœa, &c.

4. But there is a worse sight than this, which in that great assembly shall distract and amaze us. There men shall meet the partners of their sins; those whom they tempted to crime by evil example, or pernicious counsel; those souls whom they helped to destroy, and for whom the Lord Jesus died: the miseries of this sight strikingly delineated.

5. We may consider that this infinite multitude must needs have strong influence on every spirit that shall there appear: for every thing will be then revealed, in all its naked deformity, to every person: all our follies and impurities will be declared, as it were, from the house-top, by the trumpet of an archangel: this topic enlarged on. The foregoing heads briefly recapitulated.

II. Second general consideration: that we must be judged; *we must appear before the judgment-seat of Christ;* and that is

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a new state of terror and amazement; for Christ shall rise from the right hand of his Father; he shall descend towards us on the clouds; and he shall make himself illustrious by a glorious majesty, by an innumerable retinue, and by circumstances of terror and a mighty power. This is that which Origen affirms to be the *sign of the Son of Man.* Others interpret this expression of *the cross of Christ:* that of Origen shown to be most reasonable. The majesty of the Judge, and terms of the judgment-day dilated on.

Fifteen terrible signs, or days of prodigies, related by St. Jerome out of the Jews' books, as immediately preceding Christ's coming. Though the Jewish doctors reckon these by an order and method, for which they have no revealed authority, yet the most terrible of them are disclosed by Christ's own words in holy Scripture: these enumerated.

The trumpet of God also shall sound; and the voice of the archangel, that is, of him who is prince of the great army of attending spirits; and this also is part of the *sign of the Son of Man:* for the fulfilling of all these predictions, and the preaching of the gospel to all nations, and the conversion of the Jews, and these prodigies, and the address of majesty, make up that sign. The notice of which things, by some way or other, came to the notice of the very heathen.

And when these things actually come to pass, it will be no wonder if men's hearts shall fail them for fear, &c.: and it is an extreme wonder that the consideration and certain expectation of them do not awake us from the death of sin: concluding exhortations and reflections.

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PART II.

If we consider the person of the Judge, we first perceive that he is interested in the injury done by the crimes which he is to sentence. *They shall look on him whom they pierced.* It was for our sins, and to take away sin, that the Judge suffered such unspeakable torments: this enlarged on. Now it is certain that they who will not be saved by his death, are guilty of his death: then what is to be expected from that Judge before whom they stand, as his murderers and betrayers: but this is not all; since

Christ may be *crucified again*, and on a new account *put to an open shame.* For after having done all this by the direct actions of his priestly office, in sacrificing himself for us, he hath done very many things for us, which also are the fruits of his first love, and prosecution of our redemption: these enlarged on: also the terror and amazement of those who meet that Lord, whose love and honor they have so disparaged.

3. And as it will be inquired, in the day of judgment, concerning the dishonor done to Christ, so also concerning that done to his institution, and its poorer members. Every man who lives wickedly disgraces the religion of Jesus, &c.; but although it is certain the Lord will resent this, yet there is one thing which he takes most tenderly, and that is, the uncharitableness of men towards his poor: it shall then be upbraided to them by the Judge, that himself was hungry, and they refused meat to him who gave his own body for them, &c.: this topic enlarged on.

4. To this if we join the omnipotence of our Lord, his infinite wisdom, and his knowlege of all causes, persons, and circumstances, his infinite justice and inflexible impartiality; there can be nothing added to the greatness or the requisites of a terrible and almighty Judge.

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But of all qualities, that which now demands our most serious attention, that which has most terror in it, is the severity of our Lord. For then is the day of vengeance, and there will be no mercy but to them who are the sons of mercy.

1. If we remember the instances of God's severity in this life, when in the days of repentance and mercy there are still mingled some storms and violence, some fearful instances of divine justice, we may readily expect that it will be infinitely worse at that day, when judgment shall triumph, and mercy shall be the accuser of the wicked. This topic illustrated by examples; &c.

2. If God, on single instances, and before our sins have come to the full, be so fierce in his anger, what must we imagine it to be in the day when the wicked are to drink the dregs of that horrid potion! This topic enlarged on.

3. We may guess at the severity of the Judge by the lesser strokes of that judgment which he is pleased to send on sinners in this world, to make them afraid of the horrible pains of doomsday; that is, the torments of a guilty conscience: this head enlarged on.

4. That all may think themselves concerned in this consideration, let us remember that even the righteous and most innocent shall pass through a severe trial. Opinions of ancient Fathers on this point uncertain: this however is sure, that even the most innocent person hath great need of mercy, and even the absolved shall suffer the terror of that day, and the fearful circumstances of Christ's coming; *where then shall the wicked and the sinner appear?*

5. But the matter is of still more concernment. Many Christians, like the Pharisees of old, think that all is well with them if they abstain from such sins as have a name in the tables of their law, &c. But when the day of judgment comes, they shall be called to a severe account by their omniscient Judge; who, all prejudices being laid aside, shall judge us for our evil

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rules and false principles, by the severity of his own laws and measures of the Spirit.

6. The circumstances of our appearing and his sentence next considered. Men who, at the day of judgment, belong not to the portion of life, shall have three accusers: 1. Christ himself, who is their Judge: 2. their own defiled consciences: 3. the Devil, their enemy, whom they served.

1. Christ shall be so, not only on account of those direct injuries before mentioned, but on the titles of contempt, unkindness, and ingratitude: and the accusation will be nothing else but a plain representation of those invitations, assistances, importunities, and constrainings, used by our dear Lord to draw us from sin, and to render it almost impossible for us not to be saved. [A short scheme is here drawn of what the wisdom and mercy of God contrived for bringing us safely to eternal happiness.]

2. Our conscience shall be an accuser, which signifies these two things; 1. that we shall be condemned for the ills we have done, and which we shall then, by God's power, clearly remember, seeing things as they really are with all their evil circumstances, &c.: 2. that not only the justice of God shall be confessed by us, in our shame and condemnation, but the evil of the sentence shall be received into us, to break our hearts in pieces; because we are the authors of our own death: this enlarged on.

3. The third sort of accusers are the devils; and they will do it with malicious and evil purposes: the prince of the devils hath διάβολος for one of his chief appellatives, 'the accuser of his brethren;' as the Holy Spirit is παράκλητος, *a defender*. Description of the manner in which the devil shall accuse even the saints and servants of God, declaring their follies and infirmities, &c.: manner in which they shall be defended and cleared by the Holy Spirit, *that maketh intercession for us*. Different case of the wicked described.

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It concerns us therefore to consider in time, that he who now tempts us will hereafter accuse us, &c. Exhortation to prevent all the mischief arising hence, by a timely accusation of ourselves.

PART III.

III. Consideration of the sentence itself. 'We must receive,' &c. Nothing shall then be worth owning, or a means of obtaining mercy, but a holy conscience.

There are two great days, in which the fate of all the world is transacted. This life is man's day; in which he does what he pleases, and God holds his peace. But then God shall have his day too: the day of the Lord shall come, in which he shall speak, and no man shall answer, &c. Similitude drawn from the case of Zedekiah.

'According to what we have done in the body.' This is the greatest terror of all; for all mankind is an enemy to God; man's very nature is accursed, and his manners are depraved. Consideration of the things which we do in the body; how inconsistent with the precepts of the gospel; yet by those precepts we shall be judged. Nay, *every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof at the day of judgment:* for which reason every one trembling may say with Job, *what shall I do when the Lord shall come to judgment?* This topic enlarged on: some other considerations proposed.

1. To relieve in some degree our sadness, and to encourage our efforts, we may consider that this great sentence, though it shall pass concerning little things, yet shall not pass by little portions, but general measures; not by the little errors of one day, but by the great proportions of our life. 2. This sentence shall be passed, not by the proportions of an angel, but by the measures of a man. 3. The last judgment will be transacted, not by strange and secret propositions, but on the same princi-

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ples by which we are guided here: this explained. 4. Sentence shall pass on us, not after the measures of nature, and possibilities, and utmost extents, but in the mercies of the covenant, &c.

5. It is to be given by him who once died for us, and now prays and perpetually intercedes for us.

On these premises we may dare to consider what the irrevocable sentence itself shall be; *whether it be good or bad.*

1. If good, it will be infinitely better than all the good of this world; and every man's share in it will be greater than all the pleasures of mankind in one heap.

2. The portion of the good at the day of judgment shall be so great as to reward them in an infinite degree for all the ills and persecutions of life: this point enlarged on.

But how, if the portion be bad? And it is a fearful consideration, that it will be so to the greater part of mankind. This sad lot represented by some considerations.

1. Here all the troubles of our spirits are but little participations of a disorderly passion; and yet ambition, envy, impatience, avarice, lust, &c., are all of them great torments: but there these shall be essential and abstracted beings; the spirit of envy, and the spirit of sorrow; devils that shall pour the whole nature of evil into the minds of the accursed, &c.

2. The evils of this world are material and bodily, and the mind is troubled because its instrument is ill at ease: but in those regions and days of sorrow, when the soul shall be the perfect principle of all its actions, the pains will be like the horrors of a devil and the groans of an evil spirit.

3. The evil portion of the next world is so great, that God did not create or design it in the first intention of things: it was incidental, and consequent on horrid crimes.

4. And when God did prepare a place of torment, he did not at all intend it for man: it was prepared for the devil and his angels, as the Judge himself says; Mat. xxv. 34.

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5. The evil portion shall be continual, without intermission of evil: no days of rest, no nights of sleep, no ease from torment, *where the worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched.*

6. And yet this is not the worst; for as it is continual during its abode, so its abode is for ever; continual and eternal: this topic enlarged on. Objections of Origen and some others against this doctrine of eternal punishment, noticed.

But that, in this question, what is certain may be separated from what is uncertain, we may consider:

1. It is certain that the torments of hell shall last as long as the soul lasts; which, as it is immortal either naturally or by gift, shall be tormented for ever, or until God finally takes away the life that he restored: this is the gentlest sentence of some of the old doctors.

2. But the generality of Christians have been taught to believe worse things of this state; and the words of our blessed Lord are κόλασις αἰώνιος, *eternal affliction* or *smiting:* and St. John, who well knew the mind of his Lord, confirms this, saying, that *the smoke of their torment ascended up for ever and ever; and they have no rest day nor night:* this topic enlarged on.

3. And yet, if God should deal with man hereafter more mercifully and proportionably to his weak nature than he does to angels, yet he will never admit him to favor: he shall be tormented beyond all the measure of human ages, and be destroyed for ever and ever.

Concluding energetic exhortations, that we should prepare ourselves, whilst there is yet time, to meet the terrors of the final day of judgment.

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SERMON I.

ADVENT SUNDAY.—DOOMSDAY BOOK; OR, CHRIST'S ADVENT TO JUDGMENT.

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2 CORINTHIANS, CHAP. V.—VERSE 10.

For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

PART I.

VIRTUE and vice are so essentially distinguished, and the distinction is so necessary to be observed in order to the well-being of men in private and in societies, that to divide them in themselves, and to separate them by sufficient notices, and to distinguish them by rewards, hath been designed by all laws, by the sayings of wise men, by the order of things, by their proportions to good or evil; and the expectations of men have been framed accordingly: that virtue may have a proper seat in the will and in the affections, and may become amiable by its own excellences and its appendant blessing; and that vice may be as natural an enemy to a man as a wolf to a lamb, and as darkness to light; destructive of its being, and a contradiction of its nature. But it is not enough that all the world hath armed itself against vice, and, by all that is wise and sober amongst men, hath taken the part of virtue, adorning it with glorious appellatives, encouraging it by rewards, entertaining it with sweetness, and commanding it by edicts, fortifying it with defensatives, and twining it in all artificial compliances: all this is short of man's necessity: for this will, in all modest

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men, secure their actions in theatres and highways, in markets and churches, before the eye of judges and in the society of witnesses; but the actions of closets and chambers, the designs and thoughts of men, their discourses in dark places, and the actions of retirements and of the night, are left indifferent to virtue or to vice; and of these, as man can take no cognisance, so he can make no coercitive; and therefore above one half of human actions is, by the laws of man, left unregarded and unprovided for. And, besides this, there are some men who are bigger than laws, and some are bigger than judges, and some judges have lessened themselves by fear and cowardice, by bribery and flattery, by iniquity and compliance; and where they have not, yet they have notices but of few causes; and there are some sins so popular and universal, that to punish them is either impossible or intolerable; and to question such, would betray the weakness of the public rods and axes, and represent the sinner to be stronger than the power that is appointed to be his bridle. And after all this, we find sinners so prosperous that they escape, so potent that they fear not; and sin is made safe when it grows great;

——Facere omnia sæve
Non impune licet, nisi dum facis——

and innocence is oppressed, and the poor cries, and he hath no helper; and he is oppressed, and he wants a patron. And for these and many other concurrent causes, if you reckon all the causes, that come before all the judicatories of the world, though the litigious are too many, and the matters of instance are intricate and numerous, yet the personal and criminal are so few, that of two thousand sins that cry aloud to God for vengeance, scarce two are noted by the public eye, and chastised by the hand of justice. It must follow from hence that it is but reasonable, for the interest of virtue and the necessities of the world, that the private should be judged, and virtue should be tied on the spirit, and the poor should be relieved, and the oppressed should appeal, and the noise of widows should be heard, and the saints should stand upright, and the cause that was ill-judged should be judged over again, and tyrants should be called to account, and our thoughts should be examined,

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and our secret actions viewed on all sides, and the infinite number of sins which escape here, should not escape finally. And therefore God hath so ordained it, that there shall be a day of doom, wherein all that are let alone by men shall be questioned by God, and every word and every action shall receive its just recompense of reward. 'For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ; that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.'

Τὰ ἴδια τοῦ σώματος, so it is in the best copies, not τὰ διὰ, 'the things done in the body,' so we commonly read it; 'the things proper or due to the body;' so the expression is more apt and proper; for not only what is done διὰ σώματος, 'by the body,' but even the acts of abstracted understanding and volition, the acts of reflexion and choice, acts of self-love and admiration, and whatever else can be supposed the proper and peculiar act of the soul or of the spirit, is to be accounted for at the day of judgment; and even these may be called ἴδια τοῦ σώματος, because these are the acts of the man in the state of conjunction with the body. The words have in them no other difficulty or variety, but contain a great truth of the biggest interest, and one of the most material constitutive articles of the whole religion, and the greatest endearment of our duty in the whole world. Things are so ordered by the great Lord of all the creatures, that whatsoever we do or suffer shall be called to account, and this account shall be exact, and the sentence shall be just, and the reward shall be great; all the evils of the world shall be amended, and the injustices shall be repaid, and the Divine Providence shall be vindicated, and virtue and vice shall for ever be remarked by their separate dwellings and rewards.

This is that which the Apostle, in the next verse, calls 'the terror of the Lord.' It is *his* terror, because himself shall appear in his dress of majesty and robes of justice; and it is *his* terror, because it is, of all the things in the world, the most formidable in itself, and it is most fearful to us: where shall be acted the interest and final sentence of eternity; and because it is so intended, I shall all the way represent it as 'the Lord's terror,' that we may be afraid of sin, for the destruction of

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which this terror is intended. 1. Therefore, we will consider the persons that are to be judged, with the circumstances of our advantages or our sorrows; 'we must all appear.' 2. The Judge and his judgment-seat; 'before the judgment-seat of Christ.' 3. The sentence that they are to receive; 'the things due to the body, good or bad;' according as we now please, but then cannot alter. Every of these is dressed with circumstances of affliction and affrightment to those, to whom such terrors shall appertain as a portion of their inheritance.

1. The persons who are to be judged; even you, and I, and all the world; kings and priests, nobles and learned, the crafty and the easy, the wise and the foolish, the rich and the poor, the prevailing tyrant and the oppressed party, shall all appear to receive their symbol; and this is so far from abating any thing of its terror and our dear concernment, that it much increases it: for although concerning precepts and discourses, we are apt to neglect in particular what is recommended in general, and in incidences of mortality and sad events, the singularity of the chance heightens the apprehension of the evil; yet it is so by accident, and only in regard of our imperfection; it being an effect of self-love, or some little creeping envy, which adheres too often to the unfortunate and miserable; or else, because the sorrow is apt to increase by being apprehended to be a rare case, and a singular unworthiness in him who is afflicted, otherwise than is common to the sons of men, companions of his sin, and brethren of his nature, and partners of his usual accidents; yet in final and extreme events, the multitude of sufferers does not lessen but increase the sufferings; and when the first day of judgment happened, that (I mean) of the universal deluge of waters on the old world, the calamity swelled like the flood, and every man saw his friend perish, and the neighbors of his dwelling, and the relatives of his house, and the sharers of his joys, and yesterday's bride, and the new-born heir, the priest of the family, and the honor of the kindred, all dying or dead, drenched in water and the Divine vengeance; and then they had no place to flee unto, no man cared for their souls; they had none to go unto for counsel, no sanctuary high enough to keep them from the vengeance that rained down from heaven; and so it shall be at the day of judgment, when that

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world and this, and all that shall be born hereafter, shall pass through the same Red Sea, and be all baptised with the same fire, and be involved in the same cloud, in which shall be thunderings and terrors infinite; every man's fear shall be increased by his neighbor's shrieks, and the amazement that all the world shall be in, shall unite as the sparks of a raging furnace into a globe of fire, and roll on its own principle, and increase by direct appearances, and intolerable reflexions. He that stands in a church-yard in the time of a great plague, and hears the passing-bell perpetually telling the sad stories of death, and sees crowds of infected bodies pressing to their graves, and others sick and tremulous, and death, dressed up in all the images of sorrow round about him, is not supported in his spirit by the variety of his sorrow: and at doomsday, when the terrors are universal, besides that it is itself so much greater, because it can affright the whole world, it is also made greater by communication and a sorrowful influence; grief being then strongly infectious, when there is no variety of state, but an intire kingdom of fear; and amazement is the king of all our passions, and all the world its subjects: and that shriek must needs be terrible, when millions of men and women, at the same instant, shall fearfully cry out, and the noise shall mingle with the trumpet of the archangel, with the thunders of the dying and groaning heavens, and the crack of the dissolving world, when the whole fabric of nature shall shake into dissolution and eternal ashes. But this general consideration may be heightened with four or five circumstances.

1. Consider what an infinite multitude of angels, and men, and women, shall then appear; it is a huge assembly, when the men of one kingdom, the men of one age in a single province, are gathered together into heaps and confusion of disorder; but then, all kingdoms of all ages, all the armies that ever mustered, all the world that Augustus Cæsar taxed, all those hundreds of millions that were slain in all the Roman wars, from Numa's time till Italy was broken into principalities and small exarchates; all these, and all that can come into numbers, and that did descend from the loins of Adam, shall at once be represented; to which account if we add the armies of heaven, the nine orders of blessed spirits, and the infinite numbers in

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every order, we may suppose the numbers fit to express the majesty of that God, and the terror of that Judge, who is the Lord and Father of all that unimaginable multitude. *Erit terror ingens tot simul tantorumque populorum.**

2. In this great multitude we shall meet all those, who, by their example and their holy precepts, have, like tapers, enkindled with a beam of the Sun of Righteousness, enlightened us, and taught us to walk in the paths of justice. There we shall see all those good men whom God sent to preach to us, and recal us from human follies and inhuman practices; and when we espy the good man that chid us for our last drunkenness or adulteries, it shall then also be remembered how we mocked at counsel, and were civilly modest at the reproof, but laughed when the man was gone, and accepted it for a religious compliment, and took our leaves, and went and did the same again. But then, things shall put on another face; and that we smiled at here, and slighted fondly, shall then be the greatest terror in the world: men shall feel that they once laughed at their own destruction, and rejected health, when it was offered by a man of God on no other condition but that they would be wise, and not be in love with death. Then they shall perceive that if they had obeyed an easy and a sober counsel, they had been partners of the same felicity which they see so illustrious on the heads of those preachers, 'whose work is with the Lord,' and who, by their life and doctrine, endeavored to snatch the soul of their friend or relatives from an intolerable misery. But he that sees a crown put on their heads, that give good council, and preach holy and severe sermons with designs of charity and piety, will also then perceive that God did not send preachers for nothing, on trifling errands and without regard: but that work which he crowns in them, he purposed should be effective to us, persuasive to the understanding, and active on our consciences. Good preachers, by their doctrine, and all good men, by their lives, are the accusers of the disobedient; and they shall rise up from their seats, and judge and condemn the follies of those who thought their piety to be want of courage, and their discourses pedantical,

* Florus.

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and their reproofs the priests' trade, but of no signification, because they preferred moments before eternity.

3. There in that great assembly shall be seen all those converts, who, on easier terms, and fewer miracles, and a less experience, and a younger grace, and a seldomer preaching, and more unlikely circumstances, have suffered the work of God to prosper on their spirits, and have been obedient to the heavenly calling. There shall stand the men of Nineveh, and they 'shall stand upright in judgment,' for they, at the preaching of one man, in a less space than forty days, returned unto the Lord their God: but we have heard him call all our lives, and, like the deaf adder, stopped our ears against the voice of God's servants, 'charm they never so wisely.' There shall appear the men of Capernaum, and the queen of the South, and the men of Berea, and the firstfruits of the Christian Church, and the holy martyrs, and shall proclaim to all the world that it was not impossible to do the work of grace in the midst of all our weaknesses and accidental disadvantages; and that 'the obedience of faith,' and 'the labor of love,' and the contentions of chastity, and the severities of temperance and self-denial, are not such insuperable mountains, but that an honest and sober person may perform them in acceptable degrees, if he have but a ready ear, and a willing mind, and an honest heart: and this scene of honest persons shall make the divine judgment on sinners more reasonable, and apparently just, in passing on them the horrible sentence; for why cannot we as well serve God in peace, as others served him in war? why cannot we love him as well when he treats us sweetly, and gives us health and plenty, honors or fair fortunes, reputation or contentedness, quietness and peace, as others did on gibbets, and under axes, in the hands of tormentors and in hard wildernesses, in nakedness and poverty, in the midst of all evil things, and all sad discomforts? Concerning this no answer can be made.

4. But there is a worse sight than this yet, which in that great assembly shall distract our sight, and amaze our spirits. There men shall meet the partners of their sins, and them that drank the round, when they crowned their heads with folly and forgetfulness, and their cups with wine and noises. There shall ye see that poor, perishing soul, whom thou didst tempt to adul-

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tery and wantonness, to drunkenness or perjury, to rebellion or an evil interest, by power or craft, by witty discourses or deep dissembling, by scandal or a snare, by evil example or pernicious counsel, by malice or unwariness; and when all this is summed up, and from the variety of its particulars is drawn into an uneasy load and a formidable sum, possibly we may find sights enough to scare all our confidences, and arguments enough to press our evil souls into the sorrows of a most intolerable death. For however we make now but light accounts and evil proportions concerning it, yet it will be a fearful circumstance of appearing, to see one, or two, or ten, or twenty accursed souls, despairing, miserable, infinitely miserable, roaring and blaspheming, and fearfully cursing thee as the cause of its eternal sorrows. Thy lust betrayed and rifled her weak, unguarded innocence; thy example made thy servant confident to lie, or to be perjured; thy society brought a third into intemperance and the disguises of a beast: and when thou seest that soul with whom thou didst sin, dragged into hell, well mayest thou fear to drink the dregs of thy intolerable potion. And most certainly it is the greatest of evils to destroy a soul, for whom the Lord Jesus died, and to undo that grace which our Lord purchased with so much sweat and blood, pains and a mighty charity. And because very many sins are sins of society and confederation; such are fornication, drunkenness, bribery, simony, rebellion, schism, and many others; it is a hard and a weighty consideration what shall become of any one of us, who have tempted our brother or sister to sin and death: for though God hath spared our life, and they are dead, and their debt-books are sealed up till the day of account; yet the mischief of our sin is gone before us, and it is like a murder, but more execrable: the soul is dead in trespasses and sins, and sealed up to an eternal sorrow; and thou shalt see, at doomsday, what damnable uncharitableness thou hast done. That soul that cries to those rocks to cover her, if it had not been for thy perpetual temptations, might have followed the Lamb in a white robe: and that poor man that is clothed with shame and flames of fire, would have shined in glory, but that thou didst force him to be partner of thy baseness. And who shall pay

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for this loss? a soul is lost by thy means; thou hast defeated the holy purposes of the Lord's bitter passion by thy impurities: and what shall happen to thee by whom thy brother dies eternally? Of all the considerations that concern this part of the horrors of doomsday, nothing can be more formidable than this, to such whom it does concern: and truly it concerns so many, and amongst so many, perhaps some persons are so tender that it might affright their hopes, and discompose their industries and spriteful labors of repentance; but that our most merciful Lord hath, in the midst of all the fearful circumstances of his second coming, interwoven this one comfort relating to this, which, to my sense, seems the most fearful and killing circumstance: 'Two shall be grinding at one mill; the one shall be taken and the other left. Two shall be in a bed; the one shall be taken and the other left;' that is, those who are confederate in the same fortunes, and interests, and actions, may yet have a different sentence: for an early and an active repentance will wash off this account, and put it on the tables of the cross; and though it ought to make us diligent and careful, charitable and penitent, hugely penitent, even so long as we live, yet when we shall appear together, there is a mercy that shall there separate us, who sometimes had blended each other in a common crime. Blessed be the mercies of God who hath so carefully provided a fruitful shower of grace, to refresh the miseries and dangers of the greatest part of mankind. Thomas Aquinas was used to beg of God that he might never be tempted, from his low fortune, to prelacies and dignities ecclesiastical: and that his mind might never be discomposed or polluted with the love of any creature; and that he might, by some instrument or other, understand the state of his deceased brother; and the story says that he was heard in all. In him it was a great curiosity, or the passion and impertinences of a useless charity, to search after him, unless he had some other personal concernment than his relation of kindred. But truly it would concern very many to be solicitous concerning the event of those souls with whom we have mingled death and sin: for many of those sentences which have passed and decreed concerning our departed relatives, will concern us dearly,

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and we are bound in the same bundles, and shall be thrown into the same fires, unless we repent for our own sins, and double our sorrows for their damnation.

5. We may consider that this infinite multitude of men, women, angels, and devils, is not ineffective as a number in Pythagoras' tables, but must needs have influence on every spirit that shall there appear. For the transactions of that court are not like orations spoken by a Grecian orator in the circles of his people, heard by them that crowd nearest him, or that sound limited by the circles of air, or the inclosure of a wall; but every thing is represented to every person, and then let it be considered, when thy shame and secret turpitude, thy midnight revels and secret hypocrisies, thy lustful thoughts and treacherous designs, thy falsehood to God and startings from thy holy promises, thy follies and impieties shall be laid open before all the world, and that then shall be spoken by the trumpet of an archangel on the housetop, the highest battlements of heaven, all those filthy words and lewd circumstances, which thou didst act secretly; thou wilt find that thou wilt have reason strangely to be ashamed. All the wise men in the world shall know how vile thou hast been: and then consider, with what confusion of face wouldest thou stand in the presence of a good man and a severe, if peradventure he should suddenly draw thy curtain, and find thee in the sins of shame and lust; it must be infinitely more, when God and all the angels of heaven and earth, all his holy myriads, and all his redeemed saints, shall stare and wonder at thy impurities and follies. I have read a story, that a young gentleman, being passionately by his mother dissuaded from entering into the severe courses of a religious and single life, broke from her importunity by saying, *Volo servare animam meam;* 'I am resolved by all means to save my soul.' But when he had undertaken a rule with passion, he performed it carelessly and remissly, and was but lukewarm in his religion, and quickly proceeded to a melancholy and wearied spirit, and from thence to a sickness and the neighborhood of death: but falling into an agony and a fantastic vision, dreamed that he saw himself summoned before God's angry throne, and from thence hurried into a place of torments, where espying his mother, full of scorn she up-

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braided him with his former answer, and asked him why he did not save his soul by all means, according as he undertook. But when the sick man awaked and recovered, he made his words good indeed, and prayed frequently, and fasted severely, and labored humbly, and conversed charitably, and mortified himself severely, and refused such secular solaces which other good men received to refresh and sustain their infirmities, and gave no other account to them that asked him but this: If I could not in my ecstasy or dream endure my mother's upbraiding my follies and weak religion, how shall I be able to suffer that God should redargue me at doomsday, and the angels reproach my lukewarmness, and the devils aggravate my sins, and all the saints of God deride my follies and hypocrisies? The effect of that man's consideration may serve to actuate a meditation in every one of us: for we shall all be at that pass, that unless our shame and sorrows be cleansed by a timely repentance, and covered by the robe of Christ, we shall suffer the anger of God, the scorn of saints and angels, and our own shame in the general assembly of all mankind. This argument is most considerable to them, who are tender of their precious name and sensible of honor; if they rather would choose death than a disgrace, poverty rather than shame, let them remember that a sinful life will bring them to an intolerable shame at that day, when all that is excellent in heaven and earth shall be summoned as witnesses and parties in a fearful scrutiny. The summit is this, all that are born of Adam shall appear before God and his Christ, and all the innumerable companies of angels and devils shall be there: and the wicked shall be affrighted with every thing they see; and there they shall see those good men, that taught them the ways of life; and all those evil persons, whom themselves have tempted into the ways of death; and those who were converted on easier terms; and some of these shall shame the wicked, and some shall curse them, and some shall upbraid them, and all shall amaze them; and yet this is but the ἀρχὴ ὠδίνων, the beginning of those evils which shall never end, till eternity hath a period; but concerning this they must first be judged; and that is the second general consideration, 'we must appear before the judgment-seat of Christ,' and that is a new state of

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terrors and affrightments. Christ, who is our Saviour and is our advocate, shall then be our judge; and that will strangely change our confidences and all the face of things.

2. That is then the place and state of our appearance, 'before the judgment-seat of Christ:' for Christ shall rise from the right hand of his Father; he shall descend towards us, and ride on a cloud, and shall make himself illustrious by a glorious majesty, and an innumerable retinue and circumstances of terror and a mighty power: and this is that which Origen affirms to be the sign of the Son of man. Remalcus de Vaux, in Harpocrate Divino, affirms that all the Greek and Latin Fathers *consentientibus animis asseverant, hoc signo crucem Christi significari*, do unanimously affirm, that the representment of the cross is the sign of the Son of man spoken of: Matt. xxiv. 50. And indeed they affirm it very generally, but Origen after this manner is singular, *hoc signum crucis erit, cum Dominus ad judicandum venerit*, so the church used to sing, and so it is in the Sibyl's verses:

> O lignum felix, in quo Deus ipse pependit;
> Nec te terra capit, sed cœli tecta videbis,
> Cum renovata Dei facies ignita micabit.

The sign of that cross is the sign of the Son of man, when the Lord shall come to judgment: and from those words of Scripture, 'they shall look on him whom they have pierced,' it hath been freely entertained, that at the day of judgment, Christ shall signify his person by something that related to his passion, his cross, or his wounds, or both. I list not to spin this curious cobweb; but Origen's opinion seems to me more reasonable; and it is more agreeable to the majesty and power of Christ to signify himself with proportions of his glory, rather than of his humility; with effects of his being exalted into heaven, rather than of his poverty and sorrows on earth: and this is countenanced better by some Greek copies: *τότε φανήσεται σημεῖον τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*, so it is commonly read, 'the sign of the Son of man in heaven;' that is (say they) the sign of the Son of man imprinted on a cloud; but it is in others, *τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς*, 'the sign of the Son of man who is in the heavens;' not that the sign shall be im-

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printed on a cloud, or in any part of the heavens, but that he who is now in the heavens, shall, when he comes down, have a sign and signification of his own, that is, proper to him who is there glorified, and shall return in glory. And he disparages the beauty of the sun, who inquires for a rule to know when the sun shines, or the light breaks forth from its chambers of the east; and the Son of man shall need no other signification, but his infinite retinue, and all the angels of God worshipping him, and sitting on a cloud, and leading the heavenly host, and bringing his elect with him, and being clothed with the robes of majesty, and trampling on devils, and confounding the wicked, and destroying death: but all these great things shall be invested with such strange circumstances, and annexes of mightiness and divinity, that all the world shall confess the glories of the Lord; and this is sufficiently signified by St. Paul, 'We shall all be set before the throne or place of Christ's judicature; for it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to me, and every tongue shall confess to God:' that is, at the day of judgment, when we are placed ready to receive our sentence, all knees shall bow to the holy Jesus, and confess him to be God the Lord; meaning that our Lord's presence shall be such as to force obeisance from angels and men and devils; and his address to judgment shall sufficiently declare his person and his office, and his proper glories. This is the greatest scene of majesty that shall be in that day, till the sentence be pronounced; but there goes much before this, which prepares all the world to the expectation and consequent reception of this mighty Judge of men and angels.

The majesty of the Judge, and the terrors of the judgment, shall be spoken aloud by the immediate forerunning accidents, which shall be so great violences to the old constitutions of nature, that it shall break her very bones, and disorder her till she be destroyed. Saint Jerome relates out of the Jews' books, that their doctors used to account fifteen days of prodigy immediately before Christ's coming, and to every day assign a wonder, any one of which if we should chance to see in the days of our flesh, it would affright us into the like thoughts which the old world had, when they saw the countries round about them covered with water and the divine vengeance; or as those poor

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people near Adria and the Mediterranean sea, when their houses and cities are entering into graves, and the bowels of the earth rent with convulsions and horrid tremblings. The sea (they say) shall rise fifteen cubits above the highest mountains, and thence descend into hollowness and a prodigious drought; and when they are reduced again to their usual proportions, then all the beasts and creeping things, the monsters and the usual inhabitants of the sea, shall be gathered together, and make fearful noises to distract mankind: the birds shall mourn and change their songs into threnes and sad accents: rivers of fire shall rise from the east to west, and the stars shall be rent into threads of light, and scatter like the beards of comets; then shall be fearful earthquakes, and the rocks shall rend in pieces, the trees shall distil blood, and the mountains and fairest structures shall return into their primitive dust; the wild beasts shall leave their dens, and come into the companies of men, so that you shall hardly tell how to call them, herds of men or congregations of beasts; then shall the graves open and give up their dead, and those which are alive in nature and dead in fear, shall be forced from the rocks whither they went to hide them, and from caverns of the earth, where they would fain have been concealed; because their retirements are dismantled, and their rocks are broken into wider ruptures, and admit a strange light into their secret bowels; and the men being forced abroad into the theatre of mighty horrors, shall run up and down distracted and at their wits' end; and then some shall die, and some shall be changed, and by this time the elect shall be gathered together from the four quarters of the world, and Christ shall come along with them to judgment.

These signs, although the Jewish doctors reckon them by order and a method, concerning which they had no other revelation (that appears) nor sufficiently credible tradition, yet for the main parts of the things themselves, the holy Scripture records Christ's own words, and concerning the most terrible of them: the sum of which, as Christ related them and his Apostles recorded and explicated, is this, 'the earth shall tremble, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken, the sun shall be turned into darkness, and the moon into blood;' that is, there shall be strange eclipses of the sun, and fearful aspects in the

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moon, who, when she is troubled, looks red like blood; 'the rocks shall rend, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat. The heavens shall be rolled up like a parchment, the earth shall be burned with fire, the hills shall be like wax, for there shall go a fire before him, and a mighty tempest shall be stirred round about him.'

Dies iræ, Dies illa
Solvet sec'lum in favilla;
Teste David, cum Sibylla.

The trumpet of God shall sound, and the voice of the archangel, that is, of him who is the prince of all that great army of spirits which shall then attend their Lord, and wait on and illustrate his glory; and this also is part of that which is called the sign of the Son of man; for the fulfilling of all these predictions, and the preaching of the gospel to all nations, and the conversion of the Jews, and these prodigies, and the address of majesty, make up that sign. The notice of which things some way or other came to the very heathen themselves, who were alarmed into caution and sobriety by these dead remembrances:

——— Sic cum, compage soluta,
Sæcula tot mundi suprema coëgerit hora,
Antiquum repetens iterum chaos, omnia mistis
Sidera sideribus concurrent: ignea pontum
Astra petent, tellus extendere littora nolit,
Excutietque fretum; fratri contraria Phœbe
Ibit,————————Totaque discors
Machina divulsi turbabit fœdera mundi.*

Which things, when they are come to pass, it will be no wonder if men's hearts shall fail them for fear, and their wits be lost with guilt, and their fond hopes destroyed by prodigy and amazement; but it will be an extreme wonder, if the consideration and certain expectation of these things shall not awake our sleeping spirits, and raise us from the death of sin, and the baseness of vice and dishonorable actions, to live soberly and temperately, chastely and justly, humbly and obediently, that

* Lucan. l. i.

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is, like persons that believe all this; and such who are not madmen or fools will order their actions according to these notices. For if they do not believe these things, where is their faith? If they do believe them and sin on, and do as if there were no such thing to come to pass, where is their prudence, and what is their hopes, and where their charity? how do they differ from beasts, save that they are more foolish? for beasts go on and consider not, because they cannot; but we can consider, and will not: we know that strange terrors shall affright us all, and strange deaths and torments shall seize on the wicked, and that we cannot escape, and the rocks themselves will not be able to hide us from the fears of those prodigies which shall come before the day of judgment: and that the mountains, though, when they are broken in pieces, we call on them to fall on us, shall not be able to secure us one minute from the present vengeance; and yet we proceed with confidence or carelessness, and consider not that there is no greater folly in the world than for a man to neglect his greatest interest, and to die for trifles and little regards, and to become miserable for such interests, which are not excusable in a child. He that is youngest hath not long to live: he that is thirty, forty, or fifty years old, hath spent most of his life, and his dream is almost done, and in a very few months he must be cast into his eternal portion; that is, he must be in an unalterable condition: his final sentence shall pass, according as he shall then be found: and that will be an intolerable condition, when he shall have reason to cry out in the bitterness of his soul, "Eternal woe is to me who refused to consider, when I might have been saved and secured from this intolerable calamity." But I must descend to consider the particulars and circumstances of the great consideration, 'Christ shall be our judge at doomsday.'

SERMON I.

PART II.

1. If we consider the person of the Judge, we first perceive that he is interested in the injury of the crimes he is to sen-

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tence. *Videbunt quem crucifixerunt*, 'they shall look on him whom they have pierced.' It was for thy sins that the Judge did suffer unspeakable pains, as were enough to reconcile all the world to God: the sum and spirit of which pains could not be better understood than by the consequence of his own words, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' meaning that he felt such horrible pure unmingled sorrows, that although his human nature was personally united to the Godhead, yet at that instant he felt no comfortable emanations by sensible perception from the Divinity, but he was so drenched in sorrow, that the Godhead seemed to have forsaken him. Beyond this nothing can be added; but then, that thou hast for thy own particular made all this in vain and ineffective, that Christ thy Lord and Judge should be tormented for nothing, that thou wouldest not accept felicity and pardon when he purchased them at so dear a price, must needs be an infinite condemnation to such persons. How shalt thou look on him that fainted and died for love of thee, and thou didst scorn his miraculous mercies? How shall we dare to behold that lovely face that brought salvation to us, and we turned away and fell in love with death, and kissed deformity and sins? and yet in the beholding that face consists much of the glories of eternity. All the pains and passions, the sorrows and the groans, the humility and poverty, the labors and the watchings, the prayers and the sermons, the miracles and the prophecies, the whip and the nails, the death and the burial, the shame and the smart, the cross and the grave, of Jesus, shall be laid on thy score, if thou hast refused the mercies and design of all their holy ends and purposes. And if we remember what a calamity that was which broke the Jewish nation in pieces, when Christ came to judge them for their murdering him, who was their king and the prince of life; and consider that this was but a dark image of the terrors of the day of judgment; we may then apprehend that there is some strange unspeakable evil that attends them that are guilty of this death and of so much evil to their Lord. Now it is certain if thou wilt not be saved by his death, thou art guilty of his death; if thou wilt not suffer him to save thee, thou art guilty of destroying him: and then let it be considered what is to be expected from that Judge before whom you stand

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as his murderer and betrayer. But this is but half of that consideration.

2. Christ may be 'crucified again,' and on a new account 'put to an open shame.' For after that Christ had done all this by the direct actions of his priestly office of sacrificing himself for us, he hath also done very many things for us, which are also the fruits of his first love and prosecution of our redemption. I will not instance in the strange arts of mercy that our Lord uses to bring us to live holy lives; but I consider that things are so ordered, and so great a value set on our souls, since they are the images of God and redeemed by the blood of the holy Lamb, that the salvation of our souls is reckoned as a part of Christ's reward, a part of the glorification of his humanity. Every sinner that repents causes joy to Christ, and the joy is so great that it runs over and wets the fair brows and beauteous locks of cherubim and seraphim, and all the angels have a part of that banquet; then it is that our blessed Lord feels the fruits of his holy death, the acceptation of his holy sacrifice, the graciousness of his person, the return of his prayers. For all that Christ did or suffered, and all that he now does as a priest in heaven, is to glorify his Father by bringing souls to God: for this it was that he was born and died, and that he descended from heaven to earth, from life to death, from the cross to the grave; this was the purpose of his resurrection and ascension, of the end and design of all the miracles and graces of God manifested to all the world by him. And now what man is so vile, such a malicious fool, that will refuse to bring joy to his Lord by doing himself the greatest good in the world? They who refuse to do this, are said to 'crucify the Lord of life again, and put him to an open shame:' that is, they, as much as in them lies, bring Christ from his glorious joys to the labors of his life, and the shame of his death; they advance his enemies, and refuse to advance the kingdom of their Lord; they put themselves in that state in which they were when Christ came to die for them; and now that he is in a state that he may rejoice over them (for he hath done all his share towards it) every wicked man takes his head from the blessing, and rather chooses that the devil should rejoice in his destruction, than that his Lord should triumph in his felicity. And

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now on the supposition of these premises we may imagine that it will be an infinite amazement to meet the Lord to be our judge, whose person we have murdered, whose honor we have disparaged, whose purposes we have destroyed, whose joys we have lessened, whose passion we have made ineffectual, and whose love we have trampled under our profane and impious feet.

3. But there is yet a third part of this consideration. As it will be inquired at the day of judgment concerning the dishonors to the person of Christ, so also concerning the profession and institution of Christ, and concerning his poor members; for by these also we make sad reflexions on our Lord. Every man that lives wickedly disgraces the religion and institution of Jesus, he discourages strangers from entering into it, he weakens the hands of them that are in already, and makes that the adversaries speak reproachfully of the name of Christ; but although it is certain our Lord and judge will deeply resent all these things, yet there is one thing which he takes more tenderly, and that is, the uncharitableness of men towards his poor; it then shall be upbraided to them by the Judge, that himself was hungry, and they refused to give meat to him that gave them his body and heart-blood to feed them and quench their thirst; that they denied a robe to cover his nakedness, and yet he would have clothed their souls with the robe of his righteousness, lest their souls should be found naked in the day of the Lord's visitation; and all this unkindness is nothing but that evil men were uncharitable to their brethren, they would not feed the hungry, nor give drink to the thirsty, nor clothe the naked, nor relieve their brother's needs, nor forgive his follies, nor cover their shame, nor turn their eyes from delighting in their affronts and evil accidents; this is it which our Lord will take so tenderly, that his brethren, for whom he died, who sucked the paps of his mother, that fed on his body and are nourished with his blood, whom he hath lodged in his heart and entertains in his bosom, the partners of his spirit and co-heirs of his inheritance, that these should be denied relief and suffered to go away ashamed and unpitied; this our blessed Lord will take so ill, that all those who are guilty of this unkindness have no reason to expect the favor of the court.

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4. To this if we add the almightiness of the Judge, his infinite wisdom and knowlege of all causes and all persons and all circumstances, that he is infinitely just, inflexibly angry, and impartial in his sentence, there can be nothing added either to the greatness or the requisites of a terrible and an almighty Judge. For who can resist him who is almighty? Who can evade his scrutiny that knows all things? Who can hope for pity of him that is inflexible? Who can think to be exempted when the judge is righteous and impartial? But in all these annexes of the great Judge, that which I shall now remark, is that indeed which hath terror in it, and that is the severity of our Lord. For then is the day of vengeance and recompenses, and no mercy at all shall be showed but to them that are the sons of mercy; for the other, their portion is such as can be expected from these premises.

1. If we remember the instances of God's severity in this life, in the days of mercy and repentance, in those days when judgment waits on mercy and receives laws by the rules and measures of pardon, and that for all the rare streams of loving-kindness issuing out of paradise and refreshing all our fields with a moisture more fruitful than the floods of Nilus, still there are mingled some storms and violences, some fearful instances of the divine justice; we may more readily expect it will be worse, infinitely worse, at that day when judgment shall ride in triumph, and mercy shall be the accuser of the wicked. But so we read and are commanded to remember, because they are written for our example, that God destroyed at once five cities of the plain and all the country; and Sodom and her sisters are set forth for an example suffering the vengeance of eternal fire. Fearful it was when God destroyed at once twenty-three thousand for fornication, and an exterminating angel in one night killed one hundred and eighty-five thousand of the Assyrians, and the first-born of all the families of Egypt, and for the sin of David in numbering the people, threescore and ten thousand of the people died, and God sent ten tribes into captivity and eternal oblivion and indistinction from a common people for their idolatry. Did not God strike Corah and his company with fire from heaven? and the earth opened and swallowed up the congregation of Abiram? And is

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not evil come on all the world for one sin of Adam? Did not the anger of God break the nation of the Jews all in pieces with judgments so great, that no nation ever suffered the like, because none ever sinned so? And at once it was done that God in anger destroyed all the world, and eight persons only escaped the angry baptism of water, and yet this world is the time of mercy; God hath opened here his magazines, and sent his only Son as the great fountain of it too: here he delights in mercy, and in judgment loves to remember it, and it triumphs over all his works, and God contrives instruments and accidents, chances and designs, occasions and opportunities for mercy: if therefore now the anger of God make such terrible eruptions on the wicked people that delight in sin, how great may we suppose that anger to be, how severe that judgment, how terrible that vengeance, how intolerable those inflictions, which God reserves for the full effusion of indignation on the great day of vengeance?

2. We may also guess at it by this; if God on all single instances, and in the midst of our sins before they are come to the full, and sometimes in the beginning of an evil habit, be so fierce in his anger; what can we imagine it to be in that day, when the wicked are to drink the dregs of that horrid potion, and count over all the particulars of their whole treasure of wrath? 'This is the day of wrath, and God shall reveal or bring forth his righteous judgments.'* The expression is taken from Deut. xxxii. 34. 'Is not this laid up in store with me, and sealed up among my treasures? ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκδικήσεως ἀνταποδώσω, I will restore it in the day of vengeance, for the Lord shall judge his people, and repent himself for his servants.' For so did the Libyan lion that was brought up under discipline, and taught to endure blows, and eat the meat of order and regular provision, and to suffer gentle usages and the familiarities of societies; but once he brake out into his own wilderness, *Dedidicit pacem subito feritate reversa*, and killed two Roman boys; but those that forage in the Libyan mountains, tread down and devour all that they meet or master; and when they have fasted two days, lay up an anger great as is their

* Rom. ii. 5.

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appetite, and bring certain death to all that can be overcome. God is pleased to compare himself to a lion; and though in this life he hath confined himself with promises and gracious emanations of an infinite goodness, and limits himself by conditions and covenants, and suffers himself to be overcome by prayers, and himself hath invented ways of atonement and expiation; yet when he is provoked by our unhandsome and unworthy actions, he makes sudden breaches, and tears some of us in pieces; and of others he breaks their bones or affrights their hopes and secular gaieties, and fills their house with mourning and cypress and groans and death: but when this lion of the tribe of Judah shall appear on his own mountain, the mountain of the Lord, in his natural dress of majesty, and that justice shall have her chain and golden fetters taken off, then justice shall strike, and mercy shall not hold her hands; she shall strike sore strokes, and pity shall not break the blow; and God shall account with us by minutes, and for words, and for thoughts: and then he shall be severe to mark what is done amiss; and that justice may reign intirely, God shall open the wicked man's treasure, and tell the sums and weigh grains and scruples: *εἰσὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἀγαθῶν, οὕτω κακῶν παρὰ τῷ θεῷ θησαυροί· ἐν ἡμέρᾳ γάρ (φησιν) ἐκδικήσεως ἐσφραγίσθαι τοὺς τῶν κακῶν θησαυροὺς*, said Philo on the place of Deuteronomy before-quoted: as there are treasures of good things, and God hath crowns and sceptres in store for his saints and servants, and coronets for martyrs, and rosaries for virgins, and phials full of prayers, and bottles full of tears, and a register of sighs and penitential groans: so God hath a treasure of wrath and fury, and scourges and scorpions, and then shall be produced the shame of lust, and the malice of envy, and the groans of the oppressed, and the persecutions of the saints, and the cares of covetousness, and the troubles of ambition, and the insolences of traitors, and the violences of rebels, and the rage of anger, and the uneasiness of impatience, and the restlessness of unlawful desires; and by this time the monsters and diseases will be numerous and intolerable, when God's heavy hand shall press the *sanies* and the intolerableness, the obliquity and the unreasonableness, the amazement and the disorder, the smart

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and the sorrow, the guilt and the punishment, out from all our sins, and pour them into one chalice, and mingle them with an infinite wrath, and make the wicked drink off all the vengeance, and force it down their unwilling throats with the violence of devils and accursed spirits.

3. We may guess at the severity of the Judge by the lesser strokes of that judgment, which he is pleased to send on sinners in this world to make them afraid of the horrible pains of doomsday: I mean the torments of an unquiet conscience, the amazement and confusions of some sins and some persons. For I have sometimes seen persons surprised in a base action, and taken in the circumstances of crafty theft and secret injustices, before their excuse was ready; they have changed their color, their speech hath faltered, their tongue stammered, their eyes did wander and fix no where, till shame made them sink into their hollow eye-pits, to retreat from their images and circumstances of discovery; their wits are lost, their reason useless, the whole order of the soul is discomposed, and they neither see, nor feel, nor think, as they used to do, but they are broken into disorder by a stroke of damnation and a lesser stripe of hell; but then if you come to observe a guilty and a base murderer, a condemned traitor, and see him harassed, first by an evil conscience, and then pulled in pieces by the hangman's hooks, or broken on sorrows and the wheel, we may then guess (as well as we can in this life) what the pains of that day shall be to accursed souls: but those we shall consider afterwards in their proper scene: now only we are to estimate the severity of our Judge by the intolerableness of an evil conscience; if guilt will make a man despair, and despair will make a man mad, confounded and dissolved in all the regions of his senses and more noble faculties, that he shall neither feel, nor hear, nor see any thing but spectres and illusions, devils and frightful dreams, and hear noises, and shriek fearfully, and look pale and distracted, like a hopeless man, from the horrors and confusions of a lost battle, on which all his hopes did stand; then the wicked must at the day of judgment expect strange things and fearful, and such which now no language can express, and then no patience can endure.

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Πολλοὺς δ' ὀδυρμοὺς καὶ γοοὺς ἀνωφελεῖς
φθέγξῃ. Διὸς γὰρ δυσπαραίτητοι φρένες.

Then only it can truly be said, that he is inflexible and inexorable. No prayers then can move him, no groans can cause him to pity thee; therefore pity thyself in time, that when the Judge comes, thou mayest be one of the sons of everlasting mercy, to whom pity belongs as part of thine inheritance; for all these shall without any remorse (except his own) be condemned by the horrible sentence.

4. That all may think themselves concerned in this consideration, let us remember that even the righteous and most innocent shall pass through a severe trial. Many of the ancients explicated this severity by the fire of conflagration, which (say they) shall purify those souls at the day of judgment, which in this life have built on the foundation hay and stubble, works of folly and false opinions, and states of imperfection. So Saint Austin's doctrine was,* *Hoc agit caminus, alios in sinistra separabit, alios in dextra quodam modo eliquabit:* "The great fire at doomsday shall throw some into the portion of the left hand, and others shall be purified and represented on the right:" and the same is affirmed by Origen and Lactantius;† and St. Hilary thus expostulates, "Since we are to give an account for every idle word, shall we long for the day of judgment," *in quo est nobis indefessus ille ignis obeundus in quo subeunda sunt gravia illa expiandæ a peccatis animæ supplicia:* "wherein we must every one of us pass that unwearied fire, in which those grievous punishments for expiating the soul from sins must be endured, for to such as have been baptised with the Holy Ghost, it remaineth that they be consummated with the fire of judgment." And St. Ambrose adds, that if any be as Peter or as John, they are baptised with this fire, and he that is purged here, had need to be purged there again: *Illic quoque nos purificet, quando dicat dominus, intrate in requiem meam:* "Let him also purify us, that every one of us being burned with that flaming sword, not

* In Psalm ciii.

† In Jerem. hom. 13. et in Luc. hom. 14. et Lactantius, lib. vii. Instit. c. xxi. Hilarius in Psal. cxviii. octon. iii. et in Mat. can. 2.

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burned up or consumed, we may enter into paradise, and give thanks unto the Lord, who hath brought us into a place of refreshment."* This opinion of theirs is in the main of it very uncertain, relying on the sense of some obscure places of Scripture, is only apt to represent the great severity of the Judge at that day, and it hath in it this only certainty, that even the most innocent person hath great need of mercy, and he that hath the greatest cause of confidence, although he runs to no rocks to hide him, yet he runs to the protection of the cross, and hides himself under the shadow of divine mercies: and he that shall receive the absolution of the blessed sentence, shall also suffer the terrors of the day, and the fearful circumstances of Christ's coming. The effect of this consideration is this, that 'if the righteous scarcely be saved, where shall the wicked and the sinner appear?' *Quid faciet virgula deserti, ubi concutietur cedrus paradisi? Quid faciet agnus, cum tremit aries? Si cœlum fugiat, ubi manebit terra?* said St. Gregory. And if St. Paul, whose conscience accused him not, yet durst not be too confident because he was not hereby justified, but might be found faulty by the severer judgments of his Lord; how shall we appear with all our crimes and evil habits round about us? If there be need of much mercy to the servants and friends of the Judge, then his enemies shall not be able to stand upright in judgment.

5. But the matter is still of more concernment. The pharisees believed that they were innocent if they abstained from criminal actions, such as were punishable by the judge; and many Christians think all is well with them if they abstain from such sins as have a name in the tables of their laws: but because some sins are secret and not discernible to man; others are public but not punished, because they were frequent and perpetual, and without external mischiefs in some instances, and only provocations against God; men think that in their concernments they have no place: and such are jeering, and many instances of wantonness and revelling, doing petty spites, and rudeness, and churlishness, lying and pride: and beyond this some are very like virtues; as too much gentleness and

* In Psalm cxviii. serm. 3.

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slackness in government, or too great severity and rigor of animadversion, bitterness in reproof of sinners, uncivil circumstances, imprudent handlings of some criminals, and zeal; nay, there are some vile things, which, through the evil discoursings and worse manners of men, are passed into an artificial and false reputation, and men accounted wits for talking atheistically, and valiant for being murderers, and wise for deceiving and circumventing our brothers; and many irregularities more, for all which we are safe enough here. But when the day of judgment comes, these shall be called to a severe account, for the Judge is omniscient and knows all things, and his tribunal takes cognisance of all causes, and hath a coercive for all, 'all things are naked and open to his eyes,' saith St. Paul;* therefore nothing shall escape for being secret:

> Ἅπαντ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος Χρόνος
> Φύει τ' ἄδηλα———

And all prejudices being laid aside, it shall be considered concerning our evil rules and false principles; *cum cepero tempus, ego justitias judicabo;* when I shall receive the people, I shall judge according unto right:† so we read; "when we shall receive time, I will judge justices and judgments:" so the vulgar Latin reads it; that is, in the day of the Lord, when time is put into his hand and time shall be no more, he shall judge concerning those judgments which men here make of things below; and the fighting men shall perceive the noise of drunkards and fools that cried him up for daring to kill his brother, to have been evil principles; and then it will be declared by strange effects that wealth is not the greatest fortune; and ambition was but an ill counsellor; and to lie for a good cause was no piety: and to do evil for the glory of God was but an ill worshipping him: and that good nature was not well employed when it spent itself in vicious company and evil compliances; and that piety was not softness and want of courage: and that poverty ought not to have been contemptible; and the cause of that is unsuccessful, is not therefore evil; and what is folly here shall be wisdom there: then shall men curse their evil

* Heb. iv. 13. † Psalm lxxiv.

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guides, and their accursed superinduced necessities and the evil guises of the world; and then when silence shall be found innocence, and eloquence in many instances condemned as criminal; when the poor shall reign, and generals and tyrants shall lie low in horrible regions; when he that lost all shall find a treasure, and he that spoiled him shall be found naked and spoiled by the destroyer: then we shall find it true that we ought here to have done what our Judge, our blessed Lord, shall do there, that is, take our measures of good and evil by the severities of the word of God, by the sermons of Christ, and the four gospels, and by the epistles of St. Paul, by justice and charity, by the laws of God, and the laws of wise princes and republics, by the rules of nature, and the just proportions of reason, by the examples of good men and the proverbs of wise men, by severity and the rules of discipline: for then it shall be that truth shall ride in triumph, and the holiness of Christ's sermons shall be manifest to all the world; that the word of God shall be advanced over all the discourses of men, and 'wisdom shall be justified by all her children.' Then shall be heard those words of an evil and tardy repentance, and the just rewards of folly, 'We fools thought their life madness;' but behold they are justified before the throne of God, and we are miserable for ever. Here men think it strange if others will not run into the same excess of riot; but there they will wonder how themselves should be so mad and infinitely unsafe, by being strangely and inexcusably unreasonable. The sum is this, the Judge shall appear clothed with wisdom, and power, and justice, and knowlege, and an impartial spirit, making no separations by the proportions of this world, but by the measures of God; not giving sentence by the principles of our folly and evil customs, but by the severity of his own laws and measures of the Spirit. *Non est judicium Dei, hominum;* God does not judge as man judges.

6. Now that the Judge is come thus arrayed, thus prepared, so instructed, let us next consider the circumstances of our appearing and his sentence; and first consider that men at the day of judgment that belong not to the portion of life, shall have three sorts of accusers. 1. Christ himself, who is their Judge. 2. Their own consciences, whom they have injured

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and blotted with characters of death and foul dishonor. 3. The devil, their enemy, whom they served.

1. Christ shall be their accuser, not only on the stock of those direct injuries (which I before reckoned) of crucifying the Lord of life, once and again, &c., but on the titles of contempt and unworthiness, of unkindness and ingratitude; and the accusation will be nothing else but a plain representation of those artifices and assistances, those bonds and invitations, those constrainings and importunities, which our dear Lord used to us, to make it almost impossible to lie in sin, and necessary to be saved. For it will, it must needs be a fearful exprobation of our unworthiness, when the Judge himself shall bear witness against us, that the wisdom of God himself was strangely employed in bringing us safely to felicity. I shall draw a short scheme, which although it must needs be infinitely short of what God hath done for us, yet it will be enough to shame us. 1. God did not only give his Son for an example, and the Son gave himself for a price for us, but both gave the Holy Spirit to assist us in mighty graces, for the verifications of faith, and the entertainments of hope, and the increase and perseverance of charity. 2. God gave to us a new nature, he put another principle into us, a third part, a perfective constitution: we have the Spirit put into us to be a part of us, as properly to produce actions of holy life, as the soul of man in the body does produce the natural. 3. God hath exalted human nature, and made it in the person of Jesus Christ to sit above the highest seat of angels, and the angels are made ministering spirits, ever since their Lord became our brother. 4. Christ hath by a miraculous sacrament given us his body to eat, and his blood to drink; he made ways that we may become all one with him. 5. He hath given us an easy religion, and hath established our future felicity on natural and pleasant conditions, and we are to be happy hereafter if we suffer God to make us happy here; and things are so ordered that a man must take more pains to perish than to be happy. 6. God hath found out rare ways to make our prayers acceptable, our weak petitions, the desires of our imperfect souls, to prevail mightily with God; and to lay a holy violence, and an undeniable necessity on himself: and God will deny us nothing but when we ask of him to do us ill

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offices, to give us poisons and dangers, and evil nourishment, and temptations; and he that hath given such mighty power to the prayers of his servants, yet will not be moved by those potent and mighty prayers to do any good man an evil turn, or to grant him one mischief: in that only God can deny us. 7. But in all things else God hath made all the excellent things in heaven and earth to join towards holy and fortunate effects; for he hath appointed an angel to present the prayers of saints,* and Christ makes intercession for us, and the Holy Spirit makes intercession for us with groans unutterable;† and all the holy men in the world pray for all and for every one; and God hath instructed us with Scriptures and precedents, and collateral and direct assistances to pray; and he encourages us with divers excellent promises, and parables, and examples, and teaches us what to pray and how, and gives one promise to public prayer, and another to private prayer, and to both the blessing of being heard.

8. Add to this account that God did heap blessings on us without order, infinitely, perpetually, and in all instances, when we needed and when we needed not. 9. He heard us when we prayed, giving us all and giving us more than we desired. 10. He desired that we should ask, and yet he hath also prevented our desire. 11. He watched for us, and, at his own charge, sent a whole order of men, whose employment is to minister to our souls: and if all this had not been enough, he had given us more also. 12. He promised heaven to our obedience, a province for a dish of water, a kingdom for a prayer, satisfaction for desiring it, grace for receiving, and more grace for accepting and using the first. 13. He invited us with gracious words and perfect entertainments. 14. He threatened horrible things to us if we would not be happy. 15. He hath made strange necessities for us, making our very repentance to be a conjugation of holy actions and holy times, and a long succession. 16. He hath taken away all excuses from us, he hath called us off from temptation, he bears our charges, he is always beforehand with us in every act of favor, and perpetually slow in striking; and his arrows are unfeathered, and he

* Rev. viii. 3. † Rom. viii. 26.

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is so long, first in drawing his sword, and another long while in whetting it, and yet longer in lifting his hand to strike, that before the blow comes the man hath repented long, unless he be a fool and impudent; and then God is so glad of an excuse to lay his anger aside, that certainly if after all this we refuse life and glory, there is no more to be said; this plain story will condemn us: but the story is very much longer. And as our conscience will represent all our sins to us, so the Judge will represent all his Father's kindnesses, as Nathan did to David, when he was to make the justice of the divine sentence appear against him. Then it shall be remembered that the joys of every day's piety would have been a greater pleasure every night, than the remembrance of every night's sin could have been in the morning. 18. That every night the trouble and labor of the day's virtue would have been as much passed, and turned to as very a nothing as the pleasure of that day's sin; but that they would be infinitely distinguished by the remanent effects. Ἂν τι πράξῃς καλὸν μετὰ πόνου, ὁ μὲν πόνος οἴχεται, τὸ δὲ καλὸν μένει. ἂν τι ποιήσῃς αἰσχρὸν μετὰ ἡδονῆς, τὸ μὲν ἡδὺ οἴχεται, τὸ δὲ αἰσχρὸν μένει; so Musonius expressed the sense of this inducement; and that this argument would have grown so great by that time we come to die, that the certain pleasures, and rare confidences, and holy hopes, of a death-bed, would be a strange felicity to a man when he remembers he did obey, if they were compared to the fearful expectations of a dying sinner, who feels by a formidable and affrighting remembrance that of all his sins nothing remains but the gains of a miserable eternity. The offering ourselves to God every morning, and the thanksgiving to God every night, hope and fear, shame and desire, the honor of leaving a fair name behind us, and the shame of dying like a fool, every thing indeed in the world, is made to be an argument and inducement to us to invite us to come to God and be saved; and therefore when this and infinitely more shall by the Judge be exhibited in sad remembrances, there needs no other sentence; we shall condemn ourselves with a hasty shame and a fearful confusion, to see how good God hath been to us, and how base we have been to ourselves. Thus Moses is said to accuse the Jews; and thus also he that does accuse is said to condemn; as Verres was by

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Cicero, and Claudia by Domitius, her accuser; and the world of impenitent persons by the men of Nineveh, and all by Christ their Judge. I represent the horror of this circumstance to consist in this: besides the reasonableness of the judgment and the certainty of the condemnation, it cannot but be an argument of an intolerable despair to perishing souls, when he that was our advocate all our life, shall, in the day of that appearing, be our accuser and our judge, a party against us, an injured person, in the day of his power and of his wrath, doing execution on all his own foolish and malicious enemies.

2. Our conscience shall be our accuser: but this signifies but these two things; 1. that we shall be condemned for the evils that we have done, and shall then remember; God by his power wiping away the dust from the tables of our memory; and taking off the consideration and the voluntary neglect and rude shufflings of our cases of conscience. For then we shall see things as they are, the evil circumstances and the crooked intentions, the adherent unhandsomeness, and the direct crimes; for all things are laid up safely: and though we draw a curtain of a cobweb over them, and sew fig-leaves before our shame, yet God shall draw away the curtain, and forgetfulness shall be no more; because with a taper in the hand of God all the corners of our nastiness shall be discovered. And, 2. it signifies this also; that not only the justice of God shall be confessed by us in our own shame and condemnation, but the evil of the sentence shall be received into us, to melt our bowels and to break our hearts in pieces within us, because we are the authors of our own death, and our own inhuman hands have torn our souls in pieces. Thus far the horrors are great, and when evil men consider it, it is certain they must be afraid to die. Even they that have lived well have some sad considerations, and the tremblings of humility, and suspicion of themselves. I remember St. Cyprian tells of a good man who, in his agony of death, saw a phantasm of a noble angelical shape, who, frowning and angry, said to him, *Pati timetis, exire non vultis: Quid faciam vobis?* Ye cannot endure sickness, ye are troubled at the evils of this world, and yet you are loath to die and be quit of them; what shall I do to you? Although this is apt to represent every man's condition more

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or less, yet concerning persons of wicked lives, it hath in it too many sad degrees of truth: they are impatient of sorrow, and justly fearful of death, because they know not how to comfort themselves in the evil accidents of their lives; and their conscience is too polluted to take death for sanctuary, to hope to have amends made to their condition by the sentence of the day of judgment. Evil and sad is their condition who cannot be contented here, nor blessed hereafter; whose life is their misery, and their conscience is their enemy, whose grave is their prison, and death their undoing, and the sentence of doomsday the beginning of an intolerable condition.

3. The third sort of accusers are the devils; and they will do it with malicious and evil purposes: the prince of the devils hath Διάβολος for one of his chiefest appellatives; 'the accuser of the brethren' he is, by his professed malice and employment; and therefore God, who delights that his mercy should triumph, and his goodness prevail over all the malice of men and devils, hath appointed one whose office is ἐλέγχειν τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα, to reprove the accuser, and to resist the enemy, to be a defender of their cause who belong to God. The Holy Spirit is Παράκλητος, a defender; the evil spirit is Διάβολος, the accuser; and they that in this life belong to one or the other, shall, in the same proportion, be treated at the day of judgment. The devil shall accuse the brethren, that is, the saints and servants of God, and shall tell concerning their follies and infirmities, the sins of their youth, and the weakness of their age, the imperfect grace and the long schedule of omissions of duty, their scruples and their fears, their diffidences and pusillanimity, and all those things which themselves, by strict examination, find themselves guilty of and have confessed, all their shame and the matter of their sorrows, their evil intentions and their little plots, their carnal confidences and too fond adherences to the things of this world, their indulgence and easiness of government, their wilder joys and freer meals, their loss of time, and their too forward and apt compliances, their trifling arrests and little peevishnesses, the mixtures of the world with the things of the Spirit, and all the incidences of humanity, he will bring forth and aggravate them by

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the circumstance of ingratitude, and the breach of promise, and the evacuating of their holy purposes, and breaking their resolutions, and rifling their vows; and all these things being drawn into an intire representment and the bills clogged by numbers, will make the best men in the world seem foul and unhandsome, and stained with the characters of death and evil dishonor. But for these there is appointed a defender; the Holy Spirit, that maketh intercession for us, shall then also interpose, and against all these things shall oppose the passion of our blessed Lord, and on all their defects shall cast the robe of his righteousness; and the sins of their youth shall not prevail so much as the repentance of their age; and their omissions shall be excused by probable intervening causes, and their little escapes shall appear single and in disunion, because they were always kept asunder by penitential prayers and sighings, and their seldom returns of sin by their daily watchfulness, and their often infirmities by the sincerity of their souls, and their scruples by their zeal, and their passions by their love, and all by the mercies of God and the sacrifice which their Judge offered, and the Holy Spirit made effective by daily graces and assistances. These, therefore, infallibly go to the portion of the right hand, because the Lord our God shall answer for them. 'But as for the wicked, it is not so with them;' for although the plain story of their life be to them a sad condemnation, yet what will be answered when it shall be told concerning them that they despised God's mercies, and feared not his angry judgments; that they regarded not his word, and loved not his excellences; that they were not persuaded by his promises, nor affrighted by his threatenings; that they neither would accept his government nor his blessings; that all the sad stories that ever happened in both the worlds (in all which himself did escape till the day of his death, and was not concerned in them, save only that he was called on by every one of them which he ever heard, or saw, or was told of, to repentance, that all these) were sent to him in vain? But cannot the accuser truly say to the Judge concerning such persons, "They were thine by creation, but mine by their own choice; thou didst redeem them indeed, but they sold themselves to me for

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a trifle, or for an unsatisfying interest: thou diedst for them, but they obeyed my commandments: I gave them nothing, I promised them nothing but the filthy pleasure of a night, or the joys of madness, or the delights of a disease: I never hanged on the cross three long hours for them, nor endured the labors of a poor life thirty-three years together for their interest: only when they were thine by the merit of thy death, they quickly became mine by the demerit of their ingratitude; and when thou hadst clothed their soul with thy robe, and adorned them by thy graces, we stripped them naked as their shame, and only put on a robe of darkness, and they thought themselves secure, and went dancing to their grave, like a drunkard to a fight, or a fly unto a candle; and, therefore, they that did partake with us in our faults, must divide with us in our portion and fearful interest?" This is a sad story, because it ends in death, and there is nothing to abate or lessen the calamity. It concerns us therefore to consider in time, that he that tempts us will accuse us, and what he calls pleasant now, he shall then say was nothing, and all the gains that now invite earthly souls and mean persons to vanity, were nothing but the seeds of folly, and the harvest is pain, and sorrow, and shame eternal. But then, since this horror proceeds on the account of so many accusers, God hath put it into our power, by a timely accusation of ourselves in the tribunal of the court Christian, to prevent all the arts of aggravation, which, at doomsday, shall load foolish and undiscerning souls. He that accuses himself of his crimes here, means to forsake them, and looks on them on all sides, and spies out his deformity, and is taught to hate them; he is instructed and prayed for, he prevents the anger of God, and defeats the devil's malice; and, by making shame the instrument of repentance, he takes away the sting, and makes that to be his medicine, which otherwise would be his death. And concerning this exercise, I shall only add what the patriarch of Alexandria told an old religious person in his hermitage. Having asked him what he found in that desert, he was answered only this, "*Indesinenter culpare et judicare meipsum;*—to judge and condemn myself perpetually, that is the employment of my solitude."—The patriarch answered, "*Non est alia via;* There is no other way."—By accusing ourselves

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we shall make the devil's malice useless, and our own consciences clear, and be reconciled to the Judge by the severities of an early repentance, and then we need to fear no accusers.

SERMON I.

PART III.

3. It remains that we consider the sentence itself, 'We must receive according to what we have done in the body, whether it be good or bad.' *Judicaturo Domino lugubre mundus immugiet, et tribus ad tribum pectora ferient. Potentissimi quondam reges nudo latere paltitabunt:* so St. Jerome meditates concerning the terror of this consideration; "The whole world shall groan when the Judge comes to give his sentence, tribe and tribe shall knock their sides together; and through the naked breasts of the most mighty kings, you shall see their hearts beat with fearful tremblings."—*Tunc Aristotelis argumenta parum proderunt, cum venerit filius pauperculæ quæstuariæ judicare orbem terræ.* Nothing shall then be worth owning, or the means of obtaining mercy, but a holy conscience; "all the human craft and trifling subtilties shall be useless, when the son of a poor maid shall sit Judge over all the world." When the prophet Joel was describing the formidable accidents in the day of the Lord's judgment, and the fearful sentence of an angry Judge, he was not able to express it, but stammered like a child, or an amazed, imperfect person. A. A. A. *diei, quia prope est dies Domini.** It is not sense at first; he was so amazed he knew not what to say; and the Spirit of God was pleased to let that sign remain, like Agamemnon's sorrow for the death of Iphigenia, nothing could describe it but a veil; it must be hidden and supposed; and the stammering tongue, that is full of fear, can best speak that

* Joel. i.

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terror, which will make all the world to cry, and shriek, and speak fearful accents, and significations of an infinite sorrow and amazement.

But so it is, there are two great days in which the fate of all the world is transacted. This life is man's day, in which man does what he pleases, and God holds his peace. Man destroys his brother, and destroys himself, and confounds governments, and raises armies, and tempts to sin, and delights in it, and drinks drunk, and forgets his sorrow, and heaps up great estates, and raises a family, and a name in the annals, and makes others fear him, and introduces new religions, and confounds the old, and changeth articles as his interest requires, and all this while God is silent, save that he is loud and clamorous with his holy precepts, and overrules the event; but leaves the desires of men to their own choice, and their course of life such as they generally choose. But then God shall have his day too; the day of the Lord shall come, in which he shall speak, and no man shall answer; he shall speak in the voice of thunder and fearful noises, and man shall do no more as he please, but must suffer as he hath deserved. When Zedekiah reigned in Jerusalem, and persecuted the prophets, and destroyed the interests of religion, and put Jeremy into the dungeon, God held his peace, save only that he warned him of the danger, and told him of the disorder; but it was Zedekiah's day, and he was permitted to his pleasure; but when he was led in chains to Babylon, and his eyes were put out with burning basins and horrible circles of reflected fires, then was God's day, and his voice was the accent of a fearful anger, that broke him all in pieces. It will be all our cases, unless we hear God speak now, and do his work, and serve his interest, and bear ourselves in our just proportions, that is, as such, the very end of whose being and all our faculties is, to serve God, and do justice and charities to our brother. For if we do the work of God in our own day, we shall receive an infinite mercy in the day of the Lord. But what that is, is now to be inquired.

'What we have done in the body.' But certainly this is the greatest terror of all. The thunders and the fires, the earthquakes and the trumpets, the brightness of holy angels, and the horror of accursed spirits, the voice of the archangel (who is

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the prince of the heavenly host) and the majesty of the Judge, in whose service all that army stands girt with holiness and obedience, all those strange circumstances which have been already reckoned, and all those others which we cannot understand, are but little preparatories and umbrages of this fearful circumstance. All this amazing majesty and formidable preparatories, are for the passing of an eternal sentence upon us, according to what we have done in the body, Woe and alas! and God help us all. All mankind is an enemy to God, his nature is accursed, and his manners are depraved. It is with the nature of man, and with all his manners, as Philemon said of the nature of foxes:

> Οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλώπηξ, ἢ μὲν εἴρων τῇ φύσει,
> Ἡ δ' αὐθέκαστος. ἀλλ' ἐὰν τρισμυρίας
> Ἀλώπεκάς τις συναγάγοι, μίαν φύσιν
> Ἀπαξαπάσαις ὕψεται—

"Every fox is crafty and mischievous, and if you gather a whole herd of them, there is not a good natured beast amongst them all." So it is with man; by nature he is the child of wrath, and by his manners he is the child of the devil; we call Christian, and we dishonor our Lord; and we are brethren, but we oppress and murder one another; it is a great degree of sanctity now-a-days, not to be so wicked as the worst of men; and we live at the rate, as if the best of men did design to themselves an easier condemnation; and as if the generality of men considered not concerning the degrees of death, but did believe that in hell no man shall perceive any ease or refreshment in being tormented with a slower fire. For consider what we do in the body; twelve or fourteen years pass before we choose good or bad; and of that which remains, above half is spent in sleep and the needs of nature; for the other half, it is divided as the stag was when the beasts went a hunting, the lion hath five parts of six. The business of the world takes so much of our remaining portion, that religion and the service of God have not much time left that can be spared; and of that which can, if we consider how much is allowed to crafty arts of cozenage, to oppression and ambition, to greedy desires and avaricious prosecution, to the vanities of our youth and the

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proper sins of every age, to the mere idleness of man and doing nothing, to his fantastic imaginations of greatness and pleasures, of great and little devices, of impertinent lawsuits and uncharitable treatings of our brother; it will be intolerable when we consider that we are to stand or fall eternally according to what we have done in the body. Gather it all together, and set it before thine eyes; alms and prayers are the sum of all thy good. Were thy prayers made in fear and holiness, with passion and desire? Were they not made unwillingly, weakly, and wanderingly, and abated with sins in the greatest part of thy life? Didst thou pray with the same affection and labor as thou didst purchase thy estate? Have thine alms been more than thy oppressions, and according to thy power? and by what means didst thou judge concerning it? How much of our time was spent in that? and how much of our estate was spent in this? But let us go one step farther:—How many of us love our enemies? or pray for and do good to them that persecute and affront us? or overcome evil with good, or turn the face again to them that strike us, rather than be revenged? or suffer ourselves to be spoiled or robbed without contention and uncharitable courses? or lose our interest rather than lose our charity? And yet by these precepts we shall be judged. I instance but once more. Our blessed Saviour spake a hard saying: 'Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof at the day of judgment. For by thy words thou shalt be justified, and by thy words thou shalt be condemned.'* And on this account may every one, weeping and trembling, say with Job, *Quid faciam, cum resurrexerit ad judicandum Deus?* 'What shall I do, when the Lord shall come to judgment?'—Of every idle word—O blessed God! what shall become of them who love to prate continually, to tell tales, to detract, to slander, to backbite, to praise themselves, to undervalue others, to compare, to raise divisions, to boast? Τίς δὲ φρουρήσει πέζαν ὀρθοστάδην, ἄϋπνος, οὐ κάμπτων γόνυ; 'Who shall be able to stand upright, not bowing the knee, with the intolerable load of the sins of his tongue?' If of every idle word we must give account, what shall we do for those

* Matt. xii. 36. † Job xxxi. 14.

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malicious words, that dishonor God or do despite to our brother? Remember how often we have tempted our brother or a silly woman to sin and death? How often we have pleaded for unjust interests, or by our wit have cozened an easy and a believing person, or given ill sentences, or disputed others into false persuasions? Did we never call good evil, or evil good? Did we never say to others, Thy cause is right, when nothing made it right but favor and money, a false advocate, or a covetous judge? Πᾶν ῥῆμα ἀργὸν, so said Christ, 'every idle word,' that is πᾶν ῥῆμα κενὸν, so St. Paul uses it, 'every false word,'* every lie shall be called to judgment; or, as some copies read it, πᾶν ῥῆμα πονηρὸν, 'every wicked word,' shall be called to judgment. For by ἀργὸν, 'idle words,' are not meant words that are unprofitable or unwise, for fools and silly persons speak most of those, and have the least accounts to make; but by *vain*, the Jews usually understood *false;* and to give their mind to vanity, or to speak vanity, is all one as to mind, or to speak falsehoods with malicious and evil purposes. But if every idle word, that is every vain and lying word, shall be called to judgment, what shall become of men that blaspheme God, or their rulers, or princes of the people, or their parents? that dishonor the religion, and disgrace the ministers? that corrupt justice and pervert judgment? that preach evil doctrines, or declare perverse sentences? that take God's holy name in vain, or dishonor the name of God by trifling and frequent swearings; that holy name, by which we hope to be saved, and which all the angels of God fall down to and worship? These things are to be considered, for by our own words we shall stand or fall, that is, as in human judgments the confession of the party, and the contradiction of himself, or the falling in the circumstances of his story, are the confidences or presumptions of law, by which judges give sentence; so shall our words be, not only the means of declaring a secret sentence, but a certain instrument of being absolved or condemned. But on these premises we see what reason we have to fear the sentence of that day, who have sinned with our tongues so often, so continually, that if there were no other actions to be accounted for,

* Eph. v. 6.

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we have enough in this account to make us die; and yet have committed so many evil actions, that if our words were wholly forgotten, we have infinite reason to fear concerning the event of that horrible sentence. The effect of which consideration is this, that we set a guard before our lips, and watch over our actions with a care, equal to that fear which shall be at doomsday, when we are to pass our sad accounts. But I have some considerations to interpose.

1. But (that the sadness of this may a little be relieved, and our endeavors be encouraged to a timely care and repentance) consider that this great sentence, although it shall pass concerning little things, yet it shall not pass by little portions, but by general measures; not by the little errors of one day, but by the great proportions of our life; for God takes not notice of the infirmities of honest persons that always endeavor to avoid every sin, but in little intervening instances are surprised; but he judges us by single actions, if they are great, and of evil effects; and by little small instances, if they be habitual. No man can take care concerning every minute; and therefore concerning it Christ will not pass sentence but by the discernible portions of our time, by human actions, by things of choice and deliberation, and by general precepts of care and watchfulness, this sentence shall be exacted. 2. The sentence of that day shall be passed, not by the proportions of an angel, but by the measures of a man; the first follies are not unpardonable, but may be recovered; and the second are dangerous, and the third are more fatal: but nothing is unpardonable but perseverance in evil courses. 3. The last judgment shall be transacted by the same principles by which we are guided here: not by strange and secret propositions, or by the fancies of men, or by the subtleties of useless distinctions or evil persuasions; not by the scruples of the credulous, or the interest of sects, nor the proverbs of prejudice, nor the uncertain definitions of them that give laws to subjects by expounding the decrees of princes; but by the plain rules of justice, by the ten commandments, by the first apprehensions of conscience, by the plain rules of Scripture, and the rules of an honest mind, and a certain justice. So that by this restraint and limit of the final sentence, we are secured we shall not fall by scruple or by igno-

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rance, by interest or by faction, by false persuasions of others, or invincible prejudice of our own, but we shall stand or fall by plain and easy propositions, by chastity or uncleanness, by justice or injustice, by robbery or restitution: and of this we have a great testimony by our judge and Lord himself; 'Whatsoever ye shall bind in earth, shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye loose shall be loosed there;' that is, you shall stand or fall according to the sermons of the gospel; as the ministers of the word are commanded to preach, so ye must live here, and so ye must be judged hereafter; ye must not look for that sentence by secret decrees or obscure doctrines, but by plain precepts and certain rules. But there are yet some more degrees of mercy. 4. That sentence shall pass on us not after the measures of nature, and possibilities, and utmost extents, but by the mercies of the covenant; we shall be judged as Christians rather than as men, that is, as persons to whom much is pardoned, and much is pitied, and many things are (not accidentally, but consequently) indulged, and great helps are ministered, and many remedies supplied, and some mercies extra-regularly conveyed, and their hopes enlarged on the stock of an infinite mercy, that hath no bounds but our needs, our capacities, and our proportions to glory. 5. The sentence is to be given by him that once died for us, and does now pray for us, and perpetually intercedes; and on souls that he loves, and in the salvation of which himself hath a great interest and increase of joy. And now on these premises, we may dare to consider what the sentence itself shall be, that shall never be reversed, but shall last for ever and ever.

'Whether it be good or bad.' I cannot discourse now the greatness of the good or bad, so far (I mean) as is revealed to us; the considerations are too long to be crowded into the end of a sermon; only in general: 1. If it be good it is greater than all the good of this world, and every man's share then, in every instant of his blessed eternity, is greater than all the pleasures of mankind in one heap.

> Ἃ τοῖς θεοῖς ἄνθρωπος εὔχεται τυχεῖν,
> Τῆς ἀθανασίας κρεῖττον οὐδὲν εὔχεται·

"A man can never wish for any thing greater than this im-

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mortality," said Posidippus. 2. To which I add this one consideration, that the portion of the good at the day of sentence shall be so great, that after all the labors of our life, and suffering persecutions, and enduring affronts, and the labor of love, and the continual fears and cares of the whole duration and abode, it rewards it all, and gives infinitely more; *Non sunt condignæ passiones hujus sæculi;* all the torments and evils of this world are not to be estimated with the joys of the blessed: it is the gift of God; a donative beyond the ὀψώνιον, the military stipend, it is beyond our work and beyond our wages, and beyond the promise and beyond our thoughts, and above our understandings, and above the highest heavens, it is a participation of the joys of God, and of the inheritance of the Judge himself.

> Οὐκ ἔστιν πελάσασθ', οὐδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐφικτὸν
> Ἡμετέροις, ἢ χειρὶ λαβεῖν, ἥπέρ τε μεγίστη
> Πειθοῦς ἀνθρώποισιν ἀμάξιτος εἰς φρένα πίπτει.*

It is a day of recompenses, in which all our sorrows shall be turned into joys, our persecutions into a crown, the cross into a throne, poverty into the riches of God; loss, and affronts, and inconveniences, and death, into sceptres, and hymns, and rejoicings, and hallelujahs, and such great things which are fit for us to hope, but too great for us to discourse of, while we see as in a glass darkly and imperfectly. And he that chooses to do an evil rather than suffer one, shall find it but an ill exchange that he deferred his little to change for a great one. I remember that a servant in the old comedy did choose to venture the lash rather than to feel a present inconvenience, *Quia illud aderat malum, istud aberat longius: illud erat præsens, huic erat diecula:* but this will be but an ill account, when the rods shall for the delay be turned into scorpions, and from easy shall become intolerable. Better it is to suffer here, and to stay till the day of restitution for the good and the holy portion; for it will recompense both for the suffering and the stay.

But how if the portion be bad? It shall be bad to the greatest part of mankind; that is a fearful consideration; the great-

* Xenoph.

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est part of men and women shall dwell in the portion of devils to eternal ages. So that these portions are like the prophet's figs in the vision; the good are the best that ever were; and the worst are so bad, that worse cannot be imagined. For though in hell the accursed souls shall have no worse than they have deserved, and there are not there overrunning measures as there are in heaven, and therefore that the joys of heaven are infinitely greater joys than the pains of hell are great pains, yet even these are a full measure to a full iniquity, pain above patience, sorrows without ease, amazement without consideration, despair without the intervals of a little hope, indignation without the possession of any good; there dwells envy and confusion, disorder and sad remembrances, perpetual woes and continual shriekings, uneasiness and all the evils of the soul. But if we will represent it in some orderly circumstances, we may consider,

1. That here, all the trouble of our spirits are little participations of a disorderly passion; a man desires earnestly but he hath not, or he envies because another hath something besides him, and he is troubled at the want of one when at the same time he hath a hundred good things; and yet ambition and envy, impatience and confusion, covetousness and lust, are all of them very great torments; but there these shall be in essence and abstracted beings; the spirit of envy, and the spirit of sorrow; devils, that shall inflict all the whole nature of the evil and pour it into the minds of accursed men, where it shall sit without abatement: for he that envies there, envies not for the eminence of another that sits a little above him, and excels him in some one good, but he shall envy for all; because the saints have all, and they have none; therefore all their passions are integral, abstracted, perfect passions: and all the sorrow in the world at this time is but a portion of sorrow; every man hath his share, and yet besides that which all sad men have, there is a great deal of sorrow which they have not, and all the devils' portion besides that; but in hell, they shall have the whole passion of sorrow in every one, just as the whole body of the sun is seen by every one in the same horizon: and he that is in darkness enjoys it not by parts, but the whole darkness is the portion of one as well as of another. If this

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consideration be not too metaphysical, I am sure it is very sad, and it relies on this; that as in heaven there are some holy spirits whose crown is all love; and some in which the brightest jewel is understanding; some are purity and some are holiness to the Lord: so in the regions of sorrow, evil and sorrow have an essence and proper being, and are set there to be suffered intirely by every undone man, that dies there for ever.

2. The evils of this world are material and bodily; the pressing of a shoulder, or the straining of a joint; the dislocation of a bone, or the extending of an artery; a bruise in the flesh, or the pinching of the skin; a hot liver, or a sickly stomach; and then the mind is troubled because its instrument is ill at ease: but all the proper troubles of this life are nothing bu the effects of an uneasy body, or an abused fancy; and therefore can be no bigger than a blow or a cozenage, than a wound or a dream; only the trouble increases as the soul works it; and if it makes reflex acts, and begins the evil on its own account, then it multiplies and doubles, because the proper scene of grief is opened, and sorrow peeps through the corners of the soul. But in those regions and days of sorrow, when the soul shall be no more depending on the body, but the perfect principle of all its actions, the actions are quick and the perceptions brisk; the passions are extreme and the motions are spiritual; the pains are like the horrors of a devil and the groans of an evil spirit; not slow like the motions of a heavy foot, or a loaden arm, but quick as an angel's wing, active as lightning; and a grief *then* is nothing like a grief *now;* and the words of a man's tongue which are fitted to the uses of this world, are as unfit to signify the evils of the next, as person, and nature, and hand, and motion, and passion, are to represent the effects of the Divine attributes, actions, and subsistence.

3. The evil portion of the next world is so great, that God did not create or design it in the first intention of things, and production of essences; he made the kingdom of heaven ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, from the foundation of the world; for so it is observable that Christ shall say to the sheep at his right hand, 'Receive the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of

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the world;'* but to the goats and accursed spirits, he speaks of no such primitive and original design; it was accidental and a consequent to horrid crimes, that God was forced to invent and to after-create that place of torments.

4. And when God did create and prepare that place, he did not at all intend it for man: it was prepared for the devil and his angels, so saith the Judge himself, 'Go ye cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the devil and his angels,† ὃ ἡτοίμασεν ὁ πατήρ μου τῷ διαβόλῳ, which my Father prepared for the devil,' so some copies read it: God intended it nor for man, but man would imitate the devil's pride, and listen to the whispers of an evil spirit, and follow his temptations, and rebel against his Maker; and then God also against his first design resolved to throw such persons into that place that was prepared for the devil: for so great was the love of God to mankind, that he prepared joys infinite and never-ceasing for man, before he had created him; but he did not predetermine him to any evil; but when he was forced to it by man's malice, he doing what God forbad him, God cast him thither where he never intended him; but it was not man's portion: he designed it not at first, and at last also he invited him to repentance; and when nothing could do it, he threw man into another's portion, because he would not accept of what was designed to be his own.

5. The evil portion shall be continual without intermission of evil; no days of rest, no nights of sleep, no ease from labor, no periods of the stroke nor taking off the hand, no intervals between blow and blow; but a continued stroke, which neither shortens the life, nor introduces a brawny patience, or the toleration of an ox, but it is the same in every instant, and great as the first stroke of lightning; the smart is as great for ever as at the first change, from the rest of the grave to the flames of that horrible burning. The church of Rome amongst some other strange opinions hath inserted this one into her public offices; that the perishing souls in hell may have sometimes remission and refreshment, like the fits of an intermitting fever:

* Matt. xxv. 34. † Ver. 41.

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for so it is in the Roman missal printed at Paris, 1626, in the mass for the dead; *Ut quia de ejus vitæ qualitate diffidimus, etsi plenam veniam anima ipsius obtinere non potest, saltem vel inter ipsa tormenta quæ forsan patitur, refrigerium de abundantia miserationum tuarum sentiat:* and something like this is that of Prudentius,*

> Sunt et spiritibus sæpe nocentibus
> Pœnarum celebres sub Styge feriæ, &c.

The evil spirits have ease of their pain, and he names their holiday, then when the resurrection of our Lord from the grave is celebrated:

> Marcent suppliciis Tartara mitibus,
> Exultatque sui carceris otio
> Umbrarum populus liber ab ignibus:
> Nec fervent solito flumina sulphure.

They then thought, that when the paschal taper burned, the flames of hell could not burn till the holy wax was spent: but because this is a fancy without ground or revelation, and is against the analogy of all those expressions of our Lord, 'where the worm dieth not, and the fire is never quenched,' and divers others, it is sufficient to have noted it without farther consideration; the pains of hell have no rest, no drop of water is allowed to cool the tongue, there is no advocate to plead for them, no mercy belongs to their portion, but fearful wrath and continual burnings.

6. And yet this is not the worst of it; for as it is continual during its abode, so its abode is for ever; it is continual and eternal. Tertullian speaks something otherwise, *pro magnitudine cruciatus non diuturni, verum sempiterni;* not continual, or the pains of every day, but such which shall last for ever. But Lactantius is more plain in this affair: "the same divine fire by the same power and force shall burn the wicked, and shall repair instantly whatsoever of the body it does consume:" "*Ac sibi ipsi æternum pabulum subministrabit,*—and shall make for itself an eternal fuel."

* Hymn. v. lib. Cathemer.

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Vermibus et flammis et discruciatibus ævum
Immortale dedit, senio ne pœna periret
Non pereunte anima————

So Prudentius, eternal worms, and unextinguished flames, and immortal punishment, are prepared for the ever-never dying souls of wicked men. Origen is charged by the ancient churches for saying, that after a long time the devils and the accursed souls shall be restored to the kingdom of God, and that after a long time again they shall be restored to their state, and so it was from their fall and shall be for ever; and, it may be, that might be the meaning of Tertullian's expression, of *cruciatus non diuturni sed sempiterni.* Epiphanius charges not the opinion on Origen, and yet he was free enough in his animadversion and reproof of him; but St. Austin did, and confuted the opinion in his books *De Civitate Dei.* However, Origen was not the first that said, the pains of the damned should cease; Justin Martyr in his dialogue with Triphon expresses it thus: "Neither do I say that all the souls do die, for that indeed would be to the wicked again unlooked for: what then? The souls of the godly in a better place, of the wicked in a worse, do tarry the time of judgment; then they that are worthy shall never die again, but those that are designed to punishment shall abide so long as God please to have them to live and to be punished." But I observe that the primitive doctors were very willing to believe that the mercy of God would find out a period to the torment of accursed souls; but such a period, which should be nothing but eternal destruction, called by the Scripture, 'the second death:' only Origen (as I observed) is charged by St. Austin to have said, they shall return into joys, and back again to hell by an eternal revolution. But concerning the death of a wicked soul, and its being broken into pieces with fearful torments, and consumed with the wrath of God, they had entertained some different fancies very early in the church, as their sentences are collected by St. Jerome at the end of his commentaries on Isaiah. And Irenæus* disputes it largely, "that they that are

* Lib. ii. cap. 65.

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unthankful to God in this short life, and obey him not, shall never have an eternal duration of life in the ages to come," *sed ipse se privat in sæculum sæculi perseverantia*—"he deprives his soul of living to eternal ages;" for he supposes an immortal duration not to be natural to the soul, but a gift of God, which he can take away, and did take away from Adam, and restored it again in Christ to them that believe in him and obey him: for the other; they shall be raised again to suffer shame, and fearful torments, and according to the degree of their sins, so shall be continued in their sorrows; and some shall die, and some shall not die: the devil, and the beast, and they that worshipped the beast, and they that were marked with his character, these St. John saith 'shall be tormented for ever and ever;' he does not say so of all, but of some certain great criminals; ὅσον ἂν Θεὸς θέλῃ, all so long as God please,—some for ever and ever, and some not so severely; and whereas the general sentence is given to all wicked persons, to all on the left hand, to go into everlasting fire: it is answered that the fire indeed is everlasting, but not all that enters into it is everlasting, but only the devils for whom it is prepared, and others, more mighty criminals (according as St. John intimates:) though also *everlasting* signifies only to the end of its proper period.

Concerning this doctrine of theirs, so severe, and yet so moderated, there is less to be objected than against the supposed fancy of Origen: for it is a strange consideration to suppose an eternal torment to those to whom it was never threatened, to those who never heard of Christ, to those that lived probably well, to heathens of good lives, to ignorants and untaught people, to people surprised in a single crime, to men that die young in their natural follies and foolish lusts, to them that fall in a sudden gaiety and excessive joy, to all alike; to all infinite and eternal, even to unwarned people; and that this should be inflicted by God who infinitely loves his creatures, who died for them, who pardons easily and pities readily, and excuses much, and delights in our being saved, and would not have us to die, and takes little things in exchange for great: it is certain that God's mercies are infinite, and it is also certain that the matter of eternal torments cannot truly be under-

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stood; and when the schoolmen go about to reconcile the divine justice to that severity, and consider why God punishes eternally a temporal sin, or a state of evil, they speak variously, and uncertainly, and unsatisfyingly. But, that in this question we may separate the certain from the uncertain;

1. It is certain that the torments of hell shall certainly last as long as the soul lasts; for eternal and everlasting can signify no less but to the end of that duration, to the perfect end of the period which it signifies. So Sodom and Gomorrah, when God rained down hell from heaven on the earth (as Salvian's expression is), they are said 'to suffer the vengeance of eternal fire:' that is, of a fire that consumed them finally, and they never were restored: and so the accursed souls shall suffer torments till they be consumed; who because they are immortal either naturally or by gift, shall be tormented for ever, or till God shall take from them the life that he restored to them on purpose to give them a capacity of being miserable, and the best that they can expect is to despair of all good, to suffer the wrath of God, never to come to any minute of felicity, or of a tolerable state, and to be held in pain till God be weary of striking. This is the gentlest sentence of some of the old doctors.

But, 2. the generality of Christians have been taught to believe worse things yet concerning them: and the words of our blessed Lord are κόλασις αἰώνιος, eternal affliction or smiting;

> Nec mortis pœnas mors altera finiet hujus,
> Horaque erit tantis ultima nulla malis.

And St. John, who well knew the mind of his Lord, saith: 'the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever, and they have no rest day nor night:'* that is, their torment is continual, and it is eternal. Their second death shall be but a dying to all felicity; for so death is taken in Scripture; Adam died when he ate the forbidden fruit; that is, he was liable to sickness and sorrows, and pain and dissolution of soul and body; and to be miserable, is the worst death of the two; they shall see the eternal felicity of the saints, but they shall never

* Rev. xiv. 11.

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taste of the holy chalice. Those joys shall indeed be for ever and ever; for immortality is part of their reward, and on them the second death shall have no power; but the wicked shall be tormented horribly and insufferably, till 'death and hell be thrown into the lake of fire, and shall be no more: which is the second death.'* But that they may not imagine that this second death shall be the end of their pains, St. John speaks expressly what that is, Rev. xxi. 8. 'The fearful and unbelieving, the abominable, and the murderers, the whoremongers and sorcerers, the idolaters and all liars, shall have their part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death;' no dying there, but a being tormented, burning in a lake of fire, that is, the second death. For if life be reckoned a blessing, then to be destitute of all blessing is to have no life; and therefore to be intolerably miserable is this second death, that is, death eternal.

3. And yet if God should deal with man hereafter more mercifully and proportionably to his weak nature, than he does to angels, and as he admits him to repentance here, so in hell also to a period of his smart, even when he keeps the angels in pain for ever; yet he will never admit him to favor, he shall be tormented beyond all the measure of human ages, and be destroyed for ever and ever.

It concerns us all who hear and believe these things, to do as our blessed Lord will do before the day of his coming; he will call and convert the Jews and strangers: conversion to God is the best preparatory to doomsday; and it concerns all them who are in the neighborhood and fringes of the flames of hell, that is, in the state of sin, quickly to arise from the danger, and shake the burning coals off our flesh, lest it consume the marrow and the bones: *Exuenda est velociter de incendio sarcina, priusquam flammis supervenientibus concremetur. Nemo diu tutus est, periculo proximus,* saith St. Cyprian; "No man is safe long that is so near to danger;" for suddenly the change will come, in which the judge shall be called to judgment, and no man to plead for him, unless a good conscience be his advocate; and the rich shall be naked as a condemned

* Rev. xx. 14.

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criminal to execution; and there shall be no regard of princes or of nobles, and the differences of men's account shall be forgotten, and no distinction remaining but of good or bad, sheep and goats, blessed and accursed souls. Among the wonders of the day of judgment, our blessed Saviour reckons it, that men shall be marrying and giving in marriage, γαμοῦντες καὶ ἐκγαμίζοντες, marrying and cross-marrying, that is, raising families and lasting greatness and huge estates; when the world is to end so quickly, and the gains of a rich purchase so very a trifle, but no trifling danger; a thing that can give no security to our souls, but much hazards and a great charge. More reasonable it is that we despise the world and lay up for heaven, that we heap up treasures by giving alms, and make friends of unrighteous mammon; but at no hand to enter into a state of life that is all the way a hazard to the main interest, and at the best an increase of the particular charge. Every degree of riches, every degree of greatness, every ambitious employment, every great fortune, every eminency above our brother, is a charge to the accounts of the last day. He that lives temperately and charitably, whose employment is religion, whose affections are fear and love, whose desires are after heaven, and do not dwell below; that man can long and pray for the hastening of the coming of the day of the Lord. He that does not really desire and long for that day, either is in a very ill condition, or does not understand that he is in a good. I will not be so severe in this meditation as to forbid any man to laugh that believes himself shall be called to so severe a judgment; yet St. Jerome said it, "*Coram cœlo et terra rationem reddemus totius nostræ vitæ; et tu rides?* Heaven and earth shall see all the follies and baseness of thy life: and dost thou laugh?" That we may, but we have not reason to laugh loudly and frequently if we consider things wisely, and as we are concerned; but if we do, yet "*præsentis temporis ita est agenda lætitia, ut sequentis judicii amaritudo nunquam recedat a memoria:*—so laugh here that you may not forget your danger, lest you weep for ever." He that thinks most seriously and most frequently of this fearful appearance, will find that it is better staying for his joys till this sentence be past; for then he shall perceive whether he hath reason or no. In the mean time wonder not that God,

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who loves mankind so well, should punish him so severely: for therefore the evil fall into an accursed portion, because they despised that which God most loves, his Son and his mercies, his graces and his Holy Spirit; and they that do all this, have cause to complain of nothing but their own follies; and they shall feel the accursed consequents then, when they shall see the Judge sit above them, angry and severe, inexorable and terrible; under them, an intolerable hell; within them, their consciences clamorous and diseased; without them, all the world on fire; on the right hand, those men glorified whom they persecuted or despised; on the left hand, the devils accusing: for this is the day of the Lord's terror, and who is able to abide it?

> Seu vigilo intentus studiis, seu dormio, semper
> Judicis extremi nostras tuba personet aures.

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SUMMARY OF SERMON II.

JOHN, CHAP. IX.—VERSE 31.

PART I.

It is difficult to determine which is the greater wonder, that prayer should produce such vast and blessed effects, or that we should be so unwilling to use such an instrument for procuring them. Reasons for this, our extreme folly, given. Inefficacy of prayer which is offered up by wicked and hypocritical supplicants. *God heareth not sinners.* This a known case, and an established rule in religion. 'Wicked persons are neither fit to pray for themselves, nor for others.'

This proposition is considered, *first*, according to that purpose in which the blind man in the text spoke it; and it is shown that *God heareth not sinners*, in that they are sinners, though a sinner may be heard in his prayer, in order to a confirmation of his faith; but if he be a sinner in his faith, God hears him not at all, in that wherein he sins; for God is truth, and cannot confirm a lie; and whenever he permitted the devil to do it, he secured the interest of his elect, that is, of all that believe in him and love him.

Secondly, this proposition is considered in a manner which concerns us all more nearly: that is, if we be not good men, our prayers will do us no good: we shall be in the condition of them that never pray at all. God turneth away from the unwholesome breathings of corruption. The doctrine under discussion reduced to method, under various heads: these enumerated.

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I. Whosoever prays whilst he is in a state of sin, or in the affection to sin, his prayer is an abomination to God. This truth believed by the ancient world: hence the appointment of baptisms and ceremonial expiations: ceremonies of the Gentiles and the Jews considered: internal purity recommended by them, Some considerations on this head. 1. It is an act of profanation for any unholy person to handle holy things and offices: reasons given for this. 2. A wicked person, whilst he remains in that condition, is not a natural object of pity, &c. 3. Purity is recommended by the necessary appendages of prayer required or advised in holy Scripture; as those of *fasting*, of *almsgiving*, &c.: also by the various indecencies which are especially prohibited, (not only for their general malignity, but for the great hinderance they give to our prayers,) such as *unmercifulness*, which unfits us to receive pardon for our own trespasses; *lust* and *uncleanness*, which are direct enemies and obstructions to prayer, defiling the temple, and taking from a man all affection to spiritual things: this state fully dilated on, and its inconsistency with devotion and prayer to God explained.

PART II.

After the evidences of Scripture, and reason derived from its analogy, there is less necessity to take any particular notice of those little objections, which are usually made from experience of the success and prosperities of evil persons. If such men ask things hurtful and sinful, it is certain that God hears them not in mercy: this topic enlarged on; with various instances of success in improper prayers, turning out to the disadvantage or destruction of the petitioners.

II. Second general head: many times good men pray, and their prayer is not a sin; but yet it returns empty; because

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although the man may be, yet the prayer is not, in proper disposition: and here the collateral and accidental hinderances of a good man's prayers are to be accounted for.

1. The first thing that hinders the prayer of a good man from obtaining its effects is violent anger, or a storm in the spirit of him that prays: disturbing effects of anger on the mind described. Prayer is an action, or a state of intercourse and desire, exactly contrary to the character of anger: its gentle and meek spirit, its soothing and calm influences, fully described.

2. Indifferency and easiness of desire is a great enemy to the good man's prayer. Answer of Diogenes to Plato: this compared with our intercourse with God in prayer. The dislike which God bears to lukewarmness stated; with the reasons of this dislike. He that is cold and tame in his prayers hath not tasted the delight of religion and the goodness of God; he is a stranger to the secrets of his kingdom: this topic enlarged on. Instances of fervent prayers of holy men in Scripture: character of one in the practice of St. Jerome. Strong exhortation to passionate importunity in prayer: example of our Saviour, who prayed with *loud cryings;* and of St. Paul, who made mention of his disciples in his prayers *night and day.*

3. Under this title of lukewarmness and tepidity may be comprised also these cautions; that a good man's prayers are hindered sometimes by inadvertency, sometimes by want of perseverance. Inadvertency indeed is an effect of lukewarmness, and a certain appendage to human infirmity; and is only remedied, as our prayers are made zealous, and our infirmities pass into the strength of the Spirit: this enlarged on.

But concerning perseverance, the consideration is something distinct; for when our prayer is for a great matter, and a great necessity, strictly attended to, yet we pursue it only by chance or humor, by fancy, or natural disposition: or else our choice

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is cool as soon as hot, and our prayer is without fruit, because the desire does not last. If we would secure the blessing and the effect of our prayers, we must not leave off till we have obtained what we need. Farther observations on the want of perseverance: danger of remitting our desires and prayers for spiritual blessings indicated. Observation of St. Gregory, 'that God loves to be invited, entreated, importuned, with a restless desire and a persevering prayer.' Quotation of a similar tendency from Proclus: topic enlarged on.

4. The prayers of a good man are oftentimes hindered and rendered destitute of their effect, for want of their being put up in good company; for sometimes an evil and obnoxious person hath so secured a mischief to himself, that they who stay in his company share also in his punishment: instance of the Tyrian sailors, who, with all their vows and prayers, could not obtain a prosperous voyage, whilst Jonas was in their bark. In such case the interest is divided, and the public sin prevails above the private piety. Story of the philosopher and Antigonus. So it is in the case of a good man mingled in bad company: if a curse be too severe for a good man, a mercy is not to be expected by evil company; and his prayer, when made in common, must partake of that event of things which is appropriate to such society. Purport of this caution; that a man mingle not his devotion in the communion of heretical persons, and in schismatical conventicles: the evil of such a practice dilated on, and examples given. But when good men pray with one heart, and in a holy assembly, that is, holy in their desires, and lawful in their authority, though the persons be of different complexions, then their prayers ascend to God like the hymns of angels.

The sum is this. If the man that makes the prayer be an unholy person, his prayer is not the instrument of a blessing, but of a curse: but when the sinner begins to repent truly, then his desires begin to be holy. Yet if they be holy, just, and good,

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they are without profit and effect, if the prayer be made in schism or in evil communion; or if it be made without attention; or if the man soon gives over; or if the prayer be not zealous; or if the man be angry: this topic carried on to the conclusion.

PART III.

III. The next inquiry and consideration is, what degrees and circumstances of piety are required to make us fit to be intercessors for others, and to pray for them with probable effect. It is said with 'probable effect,' because in this case we must consider whether the persons for whom we pray are within the limits and possibilities of present mercy. Instance of the emperor Maximinus, whom the prayers of all the Christians, even after he revoked his cruel decrees, could not save. This topic enlarged on.

But supposing the person for whom we pray to be capable of mercy, within the covenant of repentance; yet no prayers of others can farther prevail, than to remove this person to the next stage in order to felicity: this enlarged on. No prayers can prevail with regard to an indisposed person; as the sun cannot enlighten a blind eye, &c. Therefore

I. As the persons must be capable of mercy for whom we pray, so they that pray for others must be extraordinary persons themselves.

And if persons be of an extraordinary piety, they are apt and fit to be intercessors for others. This exemplified in the case of Job (ch. xlii. 7. 8.), and of Phinehas. It was also a vast blessing entailed on the posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: because they had a great religion, they had a great power with God. History of the worship paid to God by the earliest nations: this improved by Abraham and his immediate descendants, when God established a church with them; and God was their God, and

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they became fit persons to bless; as appears in the instances of their own families, of the king of Egypt, and the cities of the plain. A man of ordinary piety cannot water another man's garden and bless it with a gracious shower: he must look to himself. Few indeed are those who can intercede for others; they are as soon told as the gates of a city, or the mouths of the Nile.

But then we must consider what an encouragement this is to a very strict and holy life; what an advantage it may be to our relatives, &c. if we chance to live in times of great trouble and adversity; what benefits we may thence procure to our country.

We must consider also how useless and vile we are, when our prayers are of no avail to assist even the meanest person: the folly of a vicious advocate, or of an ordinary person pleading with God, exposed. And yet every one that is in the state of grace, every man that can pray without a sinful prayer, may also intercede for others; and it is moreover a duty prescribed to him: this topic enlarged on.

2. That we should prevail in our intercessions for others, we must take care, that, as our piety, so also our offices be extraordinary. He that prays to reverse a sentence of God, &c. must not expect great effects from a morning or evening collect, or from an honest wish put into the recollections of a prayer, or a period put in on purpose. Conduct of Mamercus, bishop of Vienna, when his city and diocese were in danger of destruction by an earthquake. Times, manner, and circumstances of prayer dilated on. Prayer at the holy communion particularly recommended; and the necessity of taking Christ with us in all our prayers.

One great caution given: that in our importunity and extraordinary offices for others, we must not make our account by a multitude of words and long prayers, but by measures of the Spirit, by holiness of the soul, justness of the desire, and usefulness of the request to God's glory, &c.

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We must not be ashamed or backward in asking; but our modesty to God in prayer hath no measures but these: distrust of ourselves, confidence in God, humility of person, reverence of address, and submission to God's will: these being observed, our importunity should be as great as possible; and it will be the more likely to prevail.

3. The last great advantage towards a prevailing intercession for others is, that the person who prays for his relatives be one of extraordinary dignity, employment, or designation; for God hath appointed some persons, by their calling, to pray for others; such as fathers for their children, bishops for their dioceses, kings for their subjects, and the whole ecclesiastical order for all the men and women in the Christian Church.

And it is well this is so, since so few understand their duty to themselves and others. Excellence and utility of prayers for their flocks by the ministers of religion dilated on.

But here comes in the greatest difficulty of the text; for if *God heareth not sinners*, what infinite necessity there is that the ministers of religion should be very holy, since their very ministries consist in preaching and praying; to which two are reducible all the ministries ecclesiastical, that are of divine institution: this topic fully dilated on.

IV. Last consideration; of the signs of our prayers being heard, concerning which there is not much of particular observation: but if our prayers be according to the warrant of God's word, if we ask according to God's will things honest and profitable, we are to rely on his promises, and to feel sure that we are heard: besides this, we can have no sign but 'the thing signified:' when we feel the effect, then we are sure that God has heard us; but till then we are to leave it with him, and not to ask a sign of that for which he has given us a promise. Yet there is one sign, mentioned by Cassian, that may be named: "That it is a sign we shall prevail, when the Spirit of God moves us to pray, with a confidence and holy security of

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receiving what we ask." But even this is no otherwise a sign, but because it is a part of the duty.

All may be summed up in the words of God by the Prophet: *Run to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if you can find a man, if there be any that executeth judgment, that seeketh truth, a man that seeketh for faith; and I will pardon it.* (Jer. v. 1.) Concluding observations.

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SERMON II.

THE RETURN OF PRAYERS; OR, THE CONDITIONS OF A PREVAILING PRAYER.

JOHN, CHAP. IX.—VERSE 31.

Now we know that God heareth not sinners; but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doth his will, him he heareth.

PART I.

I KNOW not which is the greater wonder, either that prayer, which is a duty so easy and facile, so ready and apted to the powers, and skill, and opportunities of every man, should have so great effects, and be productive of such mighty blessings; or that we should be so unwilling to use so easy an instrument of procuring so much good. The first declares God's goodness, but this publishes man's folly and weakness, who finds in himself so much difficulty to perform a condition so easy and full of advantage. But the order of this felicity is knotted like the foldings of a serpent; all those parts of easiness, which invite us to the duty, are become like the joints of a bulrush, not bendings, but consolidations and stiffenings; the very facility becomes its objection, and in every of its stages we make or find a huge uneasiness. At first we do not know what to ask; and when we do, then we find difficulty to bring our will to desire it; and when that is instructed and kept in awe, it mingles interest, and confounds the purposes; and when it is forced to ask honestly and severely, then it wills so coldly, that God hates the prayer; and if it desires fervently, it sometimes turns that into passion, and that passion breaks into murmurs or un-

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quietness; or if that be avoided, the indifference cools into death, or the fire burns violently and is quickly spent; our desires are dull as a rock, or fugitive as lightning; either we ask ill things earnestly, or good things remissly; we either court our own danger, or are not zealous for our real safety; or if we be right in our matter, or earnest in our affections, and lasting in our abode, yet we miss in the manner; and either we ask for evil ends, or without religious and awful apprehensions; or we rest on the words and signification of the prayer, and never take care to pass on to action; or else we sacrifice in the company of Korah, being partners of a schism, or a rebellion in religion; or we bring unhallowed censers, our hearts send up to God an unholy smoke, a cloud from the fires of lust; and either the flames of lust or rage, of wine or revenge, kindle the beast that is laid on the altar; or we bring swine's flesh, or a dog's neck; whereas God never accepts or delights in a prayer, unless it be for a holy thing, to a lawful end, presented unto him on the wings of zeal and love, or religious sorrow, or religious joy; by sanctified lips, and pure hands, and a sincere heart. It must be the prayer of a gracious man; and he is only gracious before God, and acceptable and effective in his prayer, whose life is holy, and whose prayer is holy; for both these are necessary ingredients to the constitution of a prevailing prayer; there is a holiness peculiar to the man, and a holiness peculiar to the prayer, that must adorn the prayer, before it can be united to the intercession of the holy Jesus, in which union alone our prayers can be prevailing.

'God heareth not sinners.' So the blind man in the text, and confidently, 'this we know:' he had reason, indeed, for his confidence; it was a proverbial saying, and everywhere recorded in their Scriptures, which were read in the synagogues every sabbath-day. 'For what is the hope of the hypocrite? (saith Job.) Will God hear his cry, when trouble cometh on him?'* No, he will not. 'For if I regard iniquity in my heart, the Lord will not hear me,'† said David; and so said the Spirit of the Lord by the son of David: 'When distress and anguish come on you, then shall they call on me, but I will not answer;

* Job xxvii. 9. † Psalm lxvi. 18.

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they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me.'* And Isaiah, 'When you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; yea, when you make many prayers, I will not hear; your hands are full of blood.'† And again, 'When they fast, I will not hear their cry; and when they will offer burnt-offerings and oblations, I will not accept them. For they have loved to wander, they have not refrained their feet, therefore the Lord will not accept them; he will now remember their iniquity, and visit their sins.'‡ On these and many other authorities,§ it grew into a proverb; *Deus non exaudit peccatores.* It was a known case, and an established rule in religion; 'Wicked persons are neither fit to pray for themselves, nor for others.'

Which proposition let us first consider in the sense of that purpose which the blind man spoke it in, and then in the utmost extent of it, as its analogy and equal reason go forth on us and our necessities. The man was cured of his blindness, and being examined concerning him that did it, named and gloried in his physician: but the spiteful pharisees bid him give glory to God, and defy the minister; for God indeed was good, but he wrought that cure by a wicked hand. No, says he, this is impossible. If this man were a sinner and a false prophet (for in that instance the accusation was intended), God would not hear his prayer, and work miracles by him in verification of a lie. A false prophet could not work true miracles: this hath received its diminution, when the case was changed; for at that time, when Christ preached, miracles were the only or the great verification of any new revelation; and therefore, it proceeding from an almighty God, must needs be the testimony of a divine truth; and if it could have been brought for a lie, there could not then have been sufficient instruction given to mankind, to prevent their belief of false prophets and lying doctrines. But when Christ proved his doctrine by miracles, that no enemy of his did ever do so great before or after him; then he also told that after him his friends should do greater, and his enemies should do some, but they were fewer, and very inconsiderable; and therefore could have in them no unavoidable cause of de-

* Prov. i. 28. † Isa. i. 15. ‡ Jer. xiv. 12. 10.
§ Vide etiam Psalm xxxiv. 6. Micah iii. 4. 1 Pet. iii. 12.

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ception, because they were discovered by a prophecy, and caution was given against them by him that did greater miracles, and yet ought to have been believed, if he had done but one; because against him there had been no caution, but many prophecies creating such expectations concerning him, which he verified by his great works. So that, in this sense of working miracles, though it was infinitely true that the blind man said, then when he said it, yet after that the case was altered; and sinners, magicians, astrologers, witches, heretics, simoniacs, and wicked persons of other instances, have done miracles, and God hath heard sinners, and wrought his own works by their hands, or suffered the devil to do his works under their pretences; and many at the day of judgment shall plead that they have done miracles in Christ's name, and yet they shall be rejected; Christ knows them not, and their portion shall be with dogs, and goats, and unbelievers.

There is in this case only this difference; that they who do miracles in opposition to Christ, do them by the power of the devil, to whom it is permitted to do such things, which we think miracles; and that is all one as though they were: but the danger of them is none at all, but to them that will not believe him that did greater miracles, and prophesied of these less, and gave warning of their attending danger, and was confirmed to be a true teacher by voices from heaven, and by the resurrection of his body after a three days' burial; so that to these the proposition still remains true, 'God hears not sinners,' God does not work those miracles; but concerning sinning Christians, God, in this sense, and towards the purposes of miracles, does hear them, and hath wrought miracles by them, for they do them 'in the name of Christ,' and therefore Christ said, 'cannot easily speak ill of him;' and although they either prevaricate in their lives, or in superinduced doctrines, yet, because the miracles are a verification of the religion, not of the opinion, of the power of truth of Christ, not of the veracity of the man, God hath heard such persons many times, whom men have long since, and to this day, called heretics; such were the Novatians and Arians; for to the heathens they could only prove their religion, by which they stood distinguished from them; but we find not that they wrought miracles among the Christians,

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or to verify their superstructures and private opinions. But besides this, yet we may also by such means arrest the forwardness of our judgments and condemnations of persons disagreeing in their opinions from us; for those persons, whose faith God confirmed by miracles, was an entire faith; and although they might have false opinions, or mistaken explications of true opinions, either inartificial or misunderstood, yet we have reason to believe their faith to be entire; for that which God would have the heathen to believe, and to that purpose proved it by a miracle himself intended to accept, first to a holy life, and then to glory. The false opinion should burn, and themselves escape. One thing more is here very considerable, that in this very instance of working miracles, God was so very careful not to hear sinners or permit sinners, till he had prevented all dangers to good and innocent persons, that the case of Christ and his apostles working miracles, was so clearly separated and remarked by the finger of God, and distinguished from the impostures and pretences of all the many antichrists that appeared in Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, Syria, and the vicinage, that there were but very few Christians that with hearty persuasions fell away from Christ, Θαττόν τις τοὺς ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ μεταδιδάξειε, said Galen, "It is not easy to teach anew him that hath been taught by Christ:" and St. Austin tells a story of an unbelieving man, that, being troubled that his wife was a Christian, went to the oracle to ask by what means he should alter her persuasion; but he was answered, "it could never be done, he might as well imprint characters on the face of a torrent, or a rapid river, or himself fly in the air, as alter the persuasion of a hearty and an honest Christian;" I would to God it were so now in all instances, and that it were so hard to draw men from the severities of a holy life, as of old they could be cozened, disputed, or forced out of their faith. Some men are vexed with hypocrisy, and then their hypocrisy was punished with infidelity and a wretchless spirit. Demas, and Simon Magus, and Ecebolius, and the lapsed confessors, are instances of human craft or human weakness; but they are scarce a number that are remarked, in ancient story, to have fallen from Christianity by direct persuasions, or the efficacy of abusing arguments and discourses. The reason of it is the truth in the text: God did

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so avoid hearing sinners in this affair, that he never permitted them to do any miracles, so as to do any mischief to the souls of good men; and therefore it is said, the enemies of Christ came 'in the power of signs and wonders, able to deceive (if it were possible) even the very elect;' but that was not possible; without their faults it could not be; the elect were sufficiently strengthened, and the evidence of Christ's being heard of God, and that none of his enemies were heard of God to any dangerous effect, was so great, that if any Christian had apostatised or fallen away by direct persuasion, it was like the sin of a falling angel, of so direct a malice, that he never could repent, and God never would pardon him, as St. Paul twice remarks in his Epistle to the Hebrews. The result of this discourse is the first sense and explication of the words, 'God heareth not sinners,' viz. in that in which they are sinners: a sinner in his manners may be heard in his prayer, in order to the confirmation of his faith; but if he be a sinner in his faith, God hears him not at all in that wherein he sins; for God is truth, and cannot confirm a lie, and whenever he permitted the devil to do it, he secured the interest of his elect, that is, of all that believe in him and love him, 'lifting up holy hands without wrath and doubting.'

2. That which yet concerns us more nearly is, that 'God heareth not sinners;' that is, if we be not good men, our prayers will do us no good: we shall be in the condition of them that never pray at all. The prayers of a wicked man are like the breath of corrupted lungs; God turns away from such unwholesome breathings. But that I may reduce this necessary doctrine to a method, I shall consider that there are some persons whose prayers are sins, and some others whose prayers are ineffectual; some are such who do not pray lawfully; they sin when they pray, while they remain in that state and evil condition; others are such who do not obtain what they pray for, and yet their prayer is not a direct sin: the prayer of the first is a direct abomination, the prayer of the second is hindered; the first is corrupted by a direct state of sin, the latter by some intervening imperfection and unhandsome circumstance of action; and in proportion to these, it is required, 1. that he be in a state and possibility of acceptation; and, 2. that the prayer itself be in

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a proper disposition. 1. Therefore we shall consider what are those conditions which are required in every person that prays, the want of which makes the prayer to be a sin? 2. What are the conditions of a good man's prayer, the absence of which makes that even his prayer return empty? 3. What degrees and circumstances of piety are required to make a man fit to be an intercessor for others, both with holiness in himself and effect to them he prays for? And, 4. as an appendix to these considerations, I shall add the proper indices and signification, by which we may make a judgment whether God hath heard our prayers or no.

1. Whosoever prays to God while he is in a state or in the affection to sin, his prayer is an abomination to God. This was a truth so believed by all nations of the world, that in all religions they ever appointed baptisms and ceremonial expiations, to cleanse the persons, before they presented themselves in their holy offices. *Deorum templa cum adire disponitis, ab omni vos labe puros, lautos, castissimosque præstatis*, said Arnobius to the Gentiles: "When you address yourselves to the temples of your God, you keep yourselves chaste, and clean, and spotless." They washed their hands and wore white garments, they refused to touch a dead body, they avoided a spot on their clothes as they avoided a wound on their head, *μὴ καθαρῷ γὰρ καθαροῦ ἐφάπτεσθαι μὴ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦ*. That was the religious ground they went on; "an impure thing ought not to touch that which is holy," much less to approach the prince of purities; and this was the sense of the old world in their lustrations, and of the Jews in their preparatory baptisms; they washed their hands to signify that they should cleanse them from all iniquity, and keep them pure from blood and rapine; they washed their garments; but that intended, they should not be spotted with the flesh; and their follies consisted in this, that they did not look to the bottom of their lavateries; they did not see through the veil of their ceremonies. *Flagitiis omnibus inquinati veniunt ad precandum, et se pie sacrificasse opinantur, si cutem laverint, tanquam libidines intra pectus inclusas ulla amnis abluat, aut ulla maria purificent*, said Lactantius; "They come to their prayers dressed round about with wickedness, *ut quercus hedera;* and think God will accept their offering, if

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their skin be washed; as if a river could purify their lustful souls, or a sea take off their guilt." But David reconciles the ceremony with the mystery, 'I will wash my hands, I will wash them in innocency, and so I will go to thine altar.' *Hæ sunt veræ munditiæ* (saith Tertullian), *non quas plerique superstitione curant ad omnem orationem, etiam cum lavacro totius corporis aquam sumentes.* "This is the true purification, not that which most men dò, superstitiously cleansing their hands and washing when they go to prayers, but cleansing the soul from all impiety, and leaving every affection to sin; then they come pure to God:" and this is it which the Apostle also signifies, having translated the Gentile and Jewish ceremony into the spirituality of the gospel, 'I will therefore that men pray everywhere, *levantes puras manus*, lifting up clean hands,' so it is in the vulgar Latin; ὁσίους χεῖρας, so it is in the Greek, 'holy hands:' that is the purity that God looks for on them that lift up their hands to him in prayer: and this very thing is founded on the natural constitution of things, and their essential proportion to each other.

1. It is an act of profanation for any unholy person to handle holy things and holy offices. For if God was ever careful to put all holy things into cancels, and immure them with acts and laws and cautions of separation; and the very sanctification of them was nothing else but the solemn separating them from common usages, that himself might be distinguished from men by actions of propriety; it is naturally certain, he that would be differenced from common things, would be infinitely divided from things that are wicked. If things that are lawful may yet be unholy in this sense, much more are unlawful things most unholy in all senses. If God will not admit of that which is beside religion, he will less endure that which is against religion. And therefore if a common man must not serve at the altar, how shall he abide a wicked man to stand there? No: he will not endure him, but he will cast him and his prayer into the separation of an infinite and eternal distance. *Sic profanatis sacris peritura Troja perdidit primum Deos;*—"So Troy entered into ruin when their prayers became unholy, and they profaned the rites of their religion."

2. A wicked person, while he remains in that condition, is

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not the natural object of pity; "Ἔλεός ἐστι λύπη ὡς ἐπὶ ἀναξίως κακοπαθοῦντι, said Zeno: "Mercy is a sorrow or a trouble at that misery, which falls on a person which deserved it not." And so Aristotle defines it, it is λύπη τις ἐπὶ τῷ πονηρῷ τοῦ ἀναξίου ἐυγχάνειν, "when we see the person deserves a better fortune," or is disposed to a fairer entreaty, then we naturally pity him; and Sinon pleaded for pity to the Trojans, saying,

———Miserere animi non digna ferentis.

For who pitieth the fears of a base man, who hath treacherously murdered his friend? or who will lend a friendly sigh when he sees a traitor to his country pass forth through the execrable gates of cities? and when any circumstance of baseness, that is, any thing that takes off the excuse of infirmity, does accompany a sin, (such as are ingratitude, perjury, perseverance, delight, malice, treachery,) then every man scorns the criminal, and God delights and rejoices in, and laughs at the calamity of such a person. When Vitellius with his hands bound behind him, his imperial robe rent, and with a dejected countenance and an ill name, was led to execution, every man cursed him, but no man wept. *Deformitas exitus misericordiam abstulerat*, saith Tacitus, "The filthiness of his life and death took away pity." So it is with us in our prayers; while we love our sin, we must nurse all its children; and when we roar in our lustful beds, and groan with the whips of an exterminating angel, chastising those ὑπογαστρίους ἐπιθυμίας (as Aretas calls them,) "the lusts of the lower belly," wantonness, and its mother intemperance, we feel the price of our sin, that which God foretold to be their issues, that which he threatened us withal, and that which is the natural consequence, and its certain expectation, that which we delighted in, and chose, even then when we refused God, and threw away felicity, and hated virtue. For punishment is but the latter part of sin; it is not a new thing and distinct from it: or if we will kiss the hyæna, or clip the lamia about the neck, we have as certainly chosen the tail, and its venomous embraces, as the face and lip. Every man that sins against God and loves it, or, which is all one, continues in it, for by interpretation that is love,

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hath all the circumstances of unworthiness towards God; he is unthankful, and a breaker of his vows, and a despiser of his mercies, and impudent against his judgments; he is false to his profession, false to his faith; he is an unfriendly person, and useth him barbarously, who hath treated him with an affection not less than infinite: and if any man does half so much evil, and so unhandsomely to a man, we stone him with stones and curses, with reproach, and an unrelenting scorn. And how then shall such a person hope that God should pity him? For God better understands, and deeper resents, and more essentially hates, and more severely exacts, the circumstances and degrees of baseness, than we can do; and therefore proportionably scorns the person and derides the calamity. Is not unthankfulness to God a greater baseness and unworthiness than unthankfulness to our patron? And is not he as sensible of it, and more than we? These things are more than words; and therefore if no man pities a base person, let us remember that no man is so base in any thing as in his unhandsome demeanor towards God. Do we not profess ourselves his servants, and yet serve the devil? Do we not live on God's provision, and yet stand or work at the command of lust or avarice, human regards and little interests of the world? We call him Father when we desire our portion, and yet spend it in the society of all his enemies. In short, let our actions to God and their circumstances be supposed to be done towards men, and we should scorn ourselves; and how then can we expect God should not scorn us, and reject our prayer, when we have done all the dishonor to him, and with all the unhandsomeness in the world? Take heed lest we fall into a condition of evil, in which it shall be said, you may thank yourselves, and be infinitely afraid lest at the same time we be in a condition of person in which God will upbraid our unworthiness, and scorn our persons, and rejoice in our calamity. The first is intolerable, the second is irremediable; the first proclaims our folly, and the second declares God's final justice; in the first there is no comfort, in the latter there is no remedy; that therefore makes us miserable, and this renders us desperate.

3. This great truth is farther manifested by the necessary and convenient appendages of prayer required, or advised, or re-

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commended, in Holy Scripture. For why is fasting prescribed together with prayer? For 'neither if we eat, are we the better; neither if we eat not, are we the worse;' and God does not delight in that service, the first, second, and third part of which is nothing but pain and self-affliction. But therefore fasting is useful with prayer, because it is a penal duty, and an action of repentance; for then only God hears sinners, when they enter first into the gates of repentance, and proceed in all the regions of sorrow and carefulness; therefore we are commanded to fast, that we may pray with more spirituality, and with repentance; that is, without the loads of meat, and without the loads of sin. Of the same consideration it is that alms are prescribed together with prayer, because it is a part of that charity, without which our souls are enemies to all that, which ought to be equally valued with our own lives. But besides this, we may easily observe what special indecencies there are, which besides the general malignity and demerit, are special deleteries and hinderances to our prayers, by irreconciling the person of him that prays.

1. The first is unmercifulness. Οὔτε ἐξ ἱεροῦ βωμὸν, οὔτε ἐξ ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀφαιρετέον τὸν ἔλεον, said one in Stobæus; and they were well joined together: "He that takes mercy from a man, is like him that takes an altar from the temple;" the temple is of no use without an altar, and the man cannot pray without mercy; and there are infinite of prayers sent forth by men which God never attends to, but as to so many sins, because the men live in a course of rapine, or tyranny, or oppression, or uncharitableness, or something that is most contrary to God, because it is unmerciful. Remember, that God sometimes puts thee into some images of his own relation. We beg of God for mercy, and our brother begs of us for pity; and therefore let us deal equally with God and all the world. I see myself fall by a too frequent infirmity, and still I beg for pardon, and hope for pity: thy brother that offends thee, he hopes so too, and would fain have the same measure, and would be as glad thou wouldst pardon him, as thou wouldst rejoice in thy own forgiveness. I am troubled when God rejects my prayer, or, instead of hearing my petition, sends a judgment: is not thy tenant, or thy servant, or thy client, so to thee?

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Does not he tremble at thy frown, and is of an uncertain soul till thou speakest kindly unto him, and observe thy looks as he watches the color of the bean coming from the box of sentence, life or death depending on it? When he begs of thee for mercy, his passion is greater, his necessities more pungent, his apprehension more brisk and sensitive, his case dressed with the circumstances of pity, and thou thyself canst better feel his condition than thou dost usually perceive the earnestness of thy own prayers to God; and if thou regardest not thy brother whom thou seest, whose case thou feelest, whose circumstance can afflict thee, whose passion is dressed to thy fancy, and proportioned to thy capacity,—how shall God regard thy distant prayer, or be melted with thy cold desire, or softened with thy dry story, or moved by thy unrepenting soul? If I be sad, I seek for comfort, and go to God and to the ministry of his creatures for it; and is it not just in God to stop his own fountains, and seal the cisterns and little emanations of the creatures from thee, who shuttest thy hand, and shuttest thy eye, and twistest thy bowels against thy brother, who would as fain be comforted as thou? It is a strange iliacal passion that so hardens a man's bowels, that nothing proceeds from him but the name of his own disease; a *miserere mei Deus*, a prayer to God for pity on him, that will not show pity to others. We are troubled when God through severity breaks our bones, and hardens his face against us; but we think our poor brother is made of iron, and not of flesh and blood, as we are. God hath bound mercy on us by the iron bands of necessity, and though God's mercy is the measure of his justice, yet justice is the measure of our mercy; and as we do to others, it shall be done to us, even in the matter of pardon and of bounty, of gentleness and remission, of bearing each other's burdens, and fair interpretation; 'Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us,' so we pray. The final sentence in this affair is recorded by St. James, 'He that shows no mercy, shall have justice without mercy:'* as thy poor brother hath groaned under thy cruelty and ungentle nature without remedy, so shalt thou before the throne of God; thou shalt pray, and plead, and

* James ii. 13.

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call, and cry, and beg again, and in the midst of thy despairing noises be carried into the regions of sorrow, which never did and never shall feel a mercy. 'God never can hear the prayers of an unmerciful man.'

2. Lust and uncleanness are a direct enemy to the praying man, an obstruction to his prayers; for this is not only a profanation, but a direct sacrilege; it defiles a temple to the ground; it takes from a man all affection to spiritual things, and mingles his very soul with the things of the world; it makes his understanding low, and his reasonings cheap and foolish, and it destroys his confidence, and all his manly hopes; it makes his spirit light, effeminate, and fantastic, and dissolves his attention; and makes his mind so to disaffect all the objects of his desires, that when he prays he is as uneasy as an impaled person, or a condemned criminal on the hook or wheel; and it hath in it this evil quality, that a lustful person cannot pray heartily against his sin; he cannot desire his cure, for his will is contradictory to his collect, and he would not that God should hear the words of his prayer, which he poor man never intended. For no crime so seizes on the will as that; some sins steal an affection, or obey a temptation, or secure an interest, or work by the way of understanding, but lust seizes directly on the will, for the devil knows well that the lusts of the body are soon cured; the uneasiness that dwells there, is a disease very tolerable, and every degree of patience can pass under it. But therefore the devil seizes on the will, and that is it that makes adulteries and all the species of uncleanness; and lust grows so hard a cure, because the formality of it is, that it will not be cured; the will loves it, and so long as it does, God cannot love the man; for God is the prince of purities, and the Son of God is the king of virgins, and the Holy Spirit is all love, and that is all purity and all spirituality: and therefore the prayer of an adulterer, or an unclean person, is like the sacrifices to Moloch, or the rites of Flora, *ubi Cato spectator esse non potuit*. A good man will not endure them; much less will God entertain such reekings of the Dead Sea and clouds of Sodom. For so an impure vapour—begotten of the slime of the earth by the fevers and adulterous heats of an intemperate summer sun, striving by the ladder of a mountain to climb up to

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heaven, and rolling into various figures by an uneasy, unfixed revolution, and stopped at the middle region of the air, being thrown from his pride and attempt of passing towards the seat of the stars—turns into an unwholesome flame, and like the breath of hell is confined into a prison of darkness, and a cloud, till it breaks into diseases, plagues, and mildews, stink and blastings; so is the prayer of an unchaste person: it strives to climb the battlements of heaven, but because it is a flame of sulphur, salt, and bitumen, and was kindled in the dishonorable regions below, derived from hell, and contrary to God, it cannot pass forth to the element of love, but ends in barrenness and murmur, fantastic expectations, and trifling imaginative confidences; and they at last end in sorrows and despair. Every state of sin is against the possibility of a man's being accepted; but these have a proper venom against the graciousness of the person, and the power of the prayer. God can never accept an unholy prayer, and a wicked man can never send forth any other; the waters pass through impure aqueducts and channels of brimstone, and therefore may end in brimstone and fire, but never in forgiveness, and the blessings of an eternal charity.

Henceforth, therefore, never any more wonder that men pray so seldom; there are few that feel the relish, and are enticed with the deliciousness, and refreshed with the comforts, and instructed with the sanctity, and acquainted with the secrets of a holy prayer: but cease also to wonder that of those few that say many prayers, so few find any return of any at all. To make up a good and a lawful prayer, there must be charity, with all its daughters, 'alms, forgiveness,' not judging uncharitably; there must be purity of spirit, that is, purity of intention; and there must be purity of the body and soul, that is, the cleanness of chastity; and there must be no vice remaining, no affection to sin: for he that brings his body to God, and hath left his will in the power of any sin, offers to God the calves of his lips, but not a whole burnt-offering; a lame oblation, but not a 'reasonable sacrifice;' and therefore their portion shall be amongst them whose prayers were never recorded in the book of life, whose tears God never put into his bottle, whose desires shall remain ineffectual to eternal ages. Take heed you do not lose your prayers; 'for by them ye hope to have eter-

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nal life;' and let any of you, whose conscience is most religious and tender, consider what condition that man is in, that hath not said his prayers in thirty or forty years together; and that is the true state of him, who hath lived so long in the course of an unsanctified life; in all that while he never said one prayer that did him any good; but they ought to be reckoned to him on the account of his sins. He that is in the affection, or in the habit, or in the state, of any one sin whatsoever, is at such distance from and contrariety to God, that he provokes God to anger in every prayer he makes: and then add but this consideration; that prayer is the great sum of our religion, it is the effect, and the exercise, and the beginning, and the promoter, of all graces, and the consummation and perfection of many; and all those persons who pretend towards heaven, and yet are not experienced in the secrets of religion, they reckon their piety, and account their hopes, only on the stock of a few prayers. It may be they pray twice every day, it may be thrice, and blessed be God for it; so far is very well: but if it shall be remembered and considered that this course of piety is so far from warranting any one course of sin, that any one habitual and cherished sin destroys the effect of all that piety, we shall see there is reason to account this to be one of those great arguments with which God hath so bound the duty of holy living on us, that without a holy life we cannot in any sense be happy, or have the effect of one prayer. But if we be returning and repenting sinners, God delights to hear, because he delights to save us:

——— Si precibus (dixerunt) numina justis
Victa remollescunt———

When a man is holy, then God is gracious, and a holy life is the best, and it is a continual prayer; and repentance is the best argument to move God to mercy, because it is the instrument to unite our prayers to the intercession of the holy Jesus.

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SERMON II.

PART II.

After these evidences of Scripture, and reason derived from its analogy, there will be less necessity to take any particular notices of those little objections, which are usually made from the experience of the success and prosperities of evil persons. For true it is, there is in the world a generation of men that pray long and loud, and ask for vile things, such which they ought to fear, and pray against, and yet they are heard; 'the fat on earth eat and worship:'* but if these men ask things hurtful and sinful, it is certain God hears them not in mercy: they pray to God as despairing Saul did to his armor-bearer, *Sta super me et interfice me;* 'Stand on me and kill me;' and he that obeyed his voice did him dishonor, and sinned against the head of his king, and his own life. And the vicious persons of old prayed to Laverna,

> ——— Pulchra Laverna,
> Da mihi fallere, da justum sanctumque videri,
> Noctem peccatis et fraudibus objice nubem.

"Give me a prosperous robbery, a rich prey, and secret escape, let me become rich with thieving, and still be accounted holy:" for every sort of man hath some religion or other, by the measures of which they proportion their lives and their prayers; now, as the Holy Spirit of God, teaching us to pray, makes us like himself, in order to a holy and an effective prayer; and no man prays well, but he that prays by the Spirit of God, 'the Spirit of Holiness;' and he that prays with the spirit must be made like to the Spirit; he is first sanctified and made holy, and then made fervent, and then his prayer ascends beyond the clouds: first, he is renewed in the spirit of his mind, and then he is inflamed with holy fires, and guided by a bright star; first purified and then lightened, then burning and shining: so is every man in every of his prayers; he is always

* Psal. xxii. 29.

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like the Spirit by which he prays: if he be a lustful person, he prays with a lustful spirit: if he does not pray for it, he cannot heartily pray against it: if he be a tyrant or a usurper, a robber or a murderer, he hath his Laverna too, by which all his desires are guided, and his prayers directed, and his petitions furnished: he cannot pray against that spirit that possesses him, and hath seized on his will and affections: if he be filled with a lying spirit, and be conformed to it in the image of his mind, he will be so also in the expressions of his prayer, and the sense of his soul. Since, therefore, no prayer can be good but that which is taught by the Spirit of grace, none holy but the man whom God's Spirit hath sanctified, and therefore none heard to any purposes of blessing which the Holy Ghost does not make for us (for he makes intercession for the saints; the Spirit of Christ is the precentor or *rector chori*, the master of the choir); it follows that all other prayers being made with an evil spirit, must have an evil portion; though the devils by their oracles have given some answers, and by their significations have foretold some future contingences, and in their government and subordinate rule have assisted some armies, and discovered some treasures, and prevented some snares of chance and accidents of men; yet no man, that reckons by the measures of reason or religion, reckons witches and conjurors amongst blessed and prosperous persons: these and all other evil persons have an evil spirit, by the measures of which their desires begin and proceed on to issue; but this success of theirs neither comes from God, nor brings felicity: but if it comes from God, it is anger; if it descends on good men, it is a curse; if on evil men, it is a sin; and then it is a present curse, and leads on to an eternal infelicity. Plutarch reports that the Tyrians tied their gods with chains, because certain persons did dream that Apollo said he would leave their city, and go to the party of Alexander, who then besieged the town: and Apollodorus tells of some that tied the image of Saturn with bands of wool on his feet. So some Christians; they think God is tied to their sect, and bound to be of their side, and the interest of their opinion; and they think he can never go to the enemy's party, so long as they charm him with certain forms of words or disguises of their own; and then all the

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success they have, and all the evils that are prosperous, all the mischiefs they do, and all the ambitious designs that do succeed, they reckon on the account of their prayers; and well they may: for their prayers are sins, and their desires are evil; they wish mischief, and they act iniquity, and they enjoy their sin: and if this be a blessing or a cursing, themselves shall then judge, and all the world shall perceive, when the accounts of all the world are truly stated; then, when prosperity shall be called to accounts, and adversity shall receive its comforts, when virtue shall have a crown, and the satisfaction of all sinful desires shall be recompensed with an intolerable sorrow, and the despair of a perishing soul. Nero's mother prayed passionately that her son might be emperor; and many persons, of whom St. James speaks, 'pray to spend on their lusts;' and they are heard too: some were not, and very many are: and some that fight against a just possessor of a country, pray that their wars may be prosperous; and sometimes they have been heard too: and Julian the Apostate prayed, and sacrificed, and inquired of demons, and burned man's flesh, and operated with secret rites, and all that he might craftily and powerfully oppose the religion of Christ; and he was heard too, and did mischief beyond the malice and the effect of his predecessors, that did swim in Christian blood: but when we sum up the accounts at the foot of their lives, or so soon as the thing was understood, and find that the effect of Agrippina's prayer was, that her son murdered her; and of those lustful petitioners, in St. James, that they were given over to the tyranny and possession of their passions and baser appetites; and the effect of Julian the Apostate's prayer was, that he lived and died a professed enemy of Christ; and the effect of the prayers of usurpers is, that they do mischief, and reap curses, and undo mankind, and provoke God, and live hated, and die miserable, and shall possess the fruit of their sin to eternal ages; these will be no objections to the truth of the former discourse; but greater instances, that, if by hearing our prayers, we mean or intend a blessing, we must also, by making prayers, mean, that the man first be holy, and his desires just and charitable, before he can be admitted to the throne of grace, or converse with God by the intercourses of a prosperous prayer.

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That is the first general. 2. Many times good men pray, and their prayer is not a sin, but yet it returns empty; because, although the man may be, yet the prayer is not, in proper disposition; and here I am to account to you concerning the collateral and accidental hinderances of the prayers of a good man.

The first thing that hinders the prayer of a good man from obtaining its effects is a violent anger, and a violent storm in the spirit of him that prays. For anger sets the house on fire, and all the spirits are busy on trouble, and intend propulsion, defence, displeasure, or revenge; it is a short madness, and an eternal enemy to discourse, and sober counsels, and fair conversation; it intends its own object with all the earnestness of perception, or activity of design, and a quicker motion of a too warm and distempered blood; it is a fever in the heart, and a calenture in the head, and a fire in the face, and a sword in the hand, and a fury all over; and therefore can never suffer a man to be in a disposition to pray. For prayer is an action, and a state of intercourse and desire, exactly contrary to this character of anger. Prayer is an action of likeness to the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of gentleness and dove-like simplicity; an imitation of the holy Jesus, whose spirit is meek, up to the greatness of the biggest example, and a conformity to God; whose anger is always just, and marches slowly, and is without transportation, and often hindered, and never hasty, and is full of mercy: prayer is the peace of our spirit, the stillness of our thoughts, the evenness of recollection, the seat of meditation, the rest of our cares, and the calm of our tempest; prayer is the issue of a quiet mind, of untroubled thoughts, it is the daughter of charity, and the sister of meekness: and he that prays to God with an angry, that is, with a troubled and discomposed spirit, is like him that retires into a barrel to meditate, and sets up his closet in the out-quarters of an army, and chooses a frontier-garrison to be wise in. Anger is a perfect alienation of the mind from prayer, and therefore is contrary to that attention, which presents our prayers in a right line to God. For so have I seen a lark rising from his bed of grass, and soaring upwards, singing as he rises, and hopes to get to heaven, and climb above the clouds; but the poor bird was

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beaten back with the loud sighings of an eastern wind, and his motion made irregular and inconstant, descending more at every breath of the tempest, than it could recover by the libration and frequent weighing of his wings; till the little creature was forced to sit down and pant, and stay till the storm was over; and then it made a prosperous flight, and did rise and sing, as if it had learned music and motion from an angel, as he passed sometimes through the air, about his ministries here below: so is the prayer of a good man; when his affairs have required business, and his business was matter of discipline, and his discipline was to pass on a sinning person, or had a design of charity, his duty met with infirmities of a man, and anger was its instrument, and the instrument became stronger than the prime agent, and raised a tempest, and overruled the man; and then his prayer was broken, and his thoughts were troubled, and his words went up towards a cloud, and his thoughts pulled them back again, and made them without intention; and the good man sighs for his infirmity, but must be content to lose the prayer, and he must recover it when his anger is removed, and his spirit is becalmed, made even as the brow of Jesus, and smooth like the heart of God; and then it ascends to heaven on the wings of the holy dove, and dwells with God, till it returns, like the useful bee, loaden with a blessing and the dew of heaven.

But besides this: anger is a combination of many other things, every one of which is an enemy to prayer; it is λύπη, and ὄρεξις, and τιμωρία, and it is ζέσις, and it is ἄθροος, and it is κόλασις, and ἐκτίμησις: so it is in the several definitions of it, and in its natural constitution. It hath in it the trouble of sorrow, and the heats of lust, and the disease of revenge, and the boilings of a fever, and the rashness of precipitancy, and the disturbance of persecution; and therefore is a certain effective enemy against prayer; which ought to be a spiritual joy, and an act of mortification; and to have in it no heats, but of charity and zeal; and they are to be guided by prudence and consideration, and allayed with the deliciousness of mercy, and the serenity of a meek and a quiet spirit; and therefore St. Paul gave caution, that 'the sun should not go

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down on our anger;' meaning, that it should not stay on us till evening prayer; for it would hinder our evening sacrifice; but the stopping of the first egressions of anger is a certain artifice of the Spirit of God, to prevent unmercifulness, which turns not only our desires into vanity, but our prayers into sin; and, remember, that Elisha's anger, though it was also zeal, had so discomposed his spirit, when the two kings came to inquire of the Lord, that, though he was a good man and a prophet, yet he could not pray, he could not inquire of the Lord, till by rest and music he had gathered himself into the evenness of a dispassionate and recollected mind; therefore, let your prayers be without wrath. *Βούλεται αὐτοὺς ἀναδιδάξαι διὰ συμβόλων ὁπότε προσέρχοιντο εἰς βωμοὺς εὐξάμενοι ἢ εὐχαριστήσαντες, μηδὲν ἀῤῥώστημα ἢ πάθος ἐπιφέρεσθαι τῇ ψυχῇ*; "for God, by many significations, hath taught us, that when men go to the altars to pray or give thanks, they must bring no sin or violent passion along with them to the sacrifice," said Philo.

2. Indifferency and easiness of desire is a great enemy to the good man's prayer. When Plato gave Diogenes a great vessel of wine, who asked but a little, and a few caraways, the Cynic thanked him with his rude expression: *Cum interrogaris, quot sint duo et duo, respondes viginti; ita non secundum ea quæ rogaris, das; nec ad ea, quæ interrogaris, respondes:* "Thou neither answerest to the question thou art asked, nor givest according as thou art desired: being inquired of, how many are two and two, thou answerest twenty." So it is with God and us in the intercourse of our prayers: we pray for health, and he gives us, it may be a sickness that carries us into eternal life; we pray for necessary support for our persons and families, and he gives us more than we need; we beg for a removal of a present sadness, and he gives us that which makes us able to bear twenty sadnesses, a cheerful spirit, a peaceful conscience, and a joy in God, as an antepast of eternal rejoicings in the kingdom of God. But then, although God doth very frequently give us beyond the matter of our desires, yet he does not so often give us great things beyond the spirit of our desires, beyond the quickness, vivacity, and fervor of our minds: for there is but one thing in the world that God hates beside sin, that is indiffer-

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ency and lukewarmness;* which, although it hath not in it the direct nature of sin, yet it hath this testimony from God, that it is loathsome and abominable; and excepting this thing alone, God never said so of any thing in the New Testament, but what was a direct breach of a commandment. The reason of it is, because lukewarmness, or an indifferent spirit, is an undervaluing of God and of religion; it is a separation of reason from affections, and a perfect conviction of the understanding to the goodness of a duty, but a refusing to follow what we understand. For he that is lukewarm alway understands the better way, and seldom pursues it; he hath so much reason as is sufficient, but he will not obey it; his will does not follow the dictate of his understanding, and therefore it is unnatural. It is like the fantastic fires of the night, where there is light and no heat; and therefore may pass on to the real fires of hell, where there is heat and no light; and therefore, though an act of lukewarmness is only an indecency, and no sin, yet a state of lukewarmness is criminal, and a sinful state of imperfection and indecency; an act of indifferency hinders a single prayer from being accepted; but a state of it makes the person ungracious and despised in the court of heaven: and therefore St. James, in his accounts concerning an effective prayer, not only requires that he be a just man who prays, but his prayer must be fervent; δέησις δικαίου ἐνεργουμένη, 'an effectual fervent prayer,' so our English reads it; it must be an intent, zealous, busy, operative prayer; for consider what a huge indecency it is, that a man should speak to God for a thing that he values not; or that he should not value a thing, without which he cannot be happy; or that he should spend his religion on a trifle; and if it be not a trifle, that he should not spend his affections on it. If our prayers be for temporal things, I shall not need stir up your affections to be passionate for their purchase; we desire them greedily, we run after them intemperately, we are kept from them with huge impatience, we are delayed with infinite regrets; we prefer them before our duty, we ask them unseasonably; we receive them with our own prejudice, and we care not; we choose them to our hurt and

* See Sermon, Of Lukewarmness and Zeal.

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hinderance, and yet delight in the purchase; and when we do pray for them, we can hardly bring ourselves to it, to submit to God's will, but will have them (if we can) whether he be pleased or no; like the parasite in the comedy, *Qui comedit quod fuit et quod non fuit:* 'he ate all, and more than all; what was set before him, and what was kept from him.' But then, for spiritual things, for the interest of our souls, and the affairs of the kingdom, we pray to God with just such a zeal as a man begs of a chirurgeon to cut him of the stone; or a condemned man desires his executioner quickly to put him out of his pain, by taking away his life; when things are come to that pass, it must be done, but God knows with what little complacency and desire the man makes his request: and yet the things of religion and the Spirit are the only things that ought to be desired vehemently, and pursued passionately, because God hath set such a value on them, that they are the effects of his greatest loving-kindness; they are the purchases of Christ's blood, and the effect of his continual intercession, the fruits of his bloody sacrifice, and the gifts of his healing and saving mercy: the graces of God's Spirit, and the only instruments of felicity: and if we can have fondnesses for things indifferent or dangerous, our prayers upbraid our spirits, when we beg coldly and tamely for those things, for which we ought to die, which are more precious than the globes of kings, and weightier than imperial sceptres, richer than the spoils of the sea, or the treasures of the Indian hills.

He that is cold and tame in his prayers, hath not tasted of the deliciousness of religion and the goodness of God; he is a stranger to the secrets of the kingdom, and therefore he does not know what it is, either to have hunger or satiety; and therefore, neither are they hungry for God, nor satisfied with the world; but remain stupid and inapprehensive, without resolution and determination, never choosing clearly, nor pursuing earnestly, and therefore never enter into possession; but always stand at the gate of weariness, unnecessary caution, and perpetual irresolution. But so it is too often in our prayers; we come to God because it is civil so to do, and a general custom, but neither drawn thither by love, nor pinched by spiritual necessities, and pungent apprehensions; we say so many

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prayers, because we are resolved so to do, and we pass through them, sometimes with a little attention, sometimes with none at all; and can we think that the grace of chastity can be obtained at such a purchase, *that* grace, that hath cost more labors than all the persecutions of faith, and all the disputes of hope, and all the expense of charity besides amounts to? Can we expect that our sins should be washed by a lazy prayer? Can an indifferent prayer quench the flames of hell, or rescue us from an eternal sorrow? Is lust so soon overcome, that the very naming it can master it? Is the devil so slight and easy an enemy, that he will fly away from us at the first word, spoken without power, and without vehemence? Read, and attend to the accents of the prayers of saints. 'I cried day and night before thee, O Lord; my soul refused comfort; my throat is dry with calling on my God; my knees are weak through fasting;' and, 'Let me alone,' says God to Moses, and, 'I will not let thee go till thou hast blessed me,' said Jacob to the angel. And I shall tell you a short character of a fervent prayer out of the practice of St. Jerome, in his epistle *ad Eustachium de Custodia Virginitatis*, "Being destitute of all help, I threw myself down at the feet of Jesus; I watered his feet with tears, and wiped them with my hair, and mortified the lust of my flesh with the abstinence and hungry diet of many weeks; I remember that in my crying to God I did frequently join the night and the day, and never did entertain to call, nor cease for beating my breast, till the mercy of the Lord brought to me peace and freedom from temptation. After many tears, and my eyes fixed in heaven, I thought myself sometimes encircled with troops of angels, and then at last I sang to God, 'We will run after thee into the smell and deliciousness of thy precious ointments;'"—such a prayer as this will never return without its errand. But though your person be as gracious as David or Job, and your desire as holy as the love of angels, and your necessities great as a new penitent, yet it pierces not the clouds, unless it be also as loud as thunder, passionate as the cries of women, and clamorous as necessity. And we may guess at the degrees of importunity by the insinuation of the Apostle: 'Let the married abstain for a time,' *ut vacent orationi et jejunio*, 'that they may attend to prayer;' it is a great attendance, and

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a long diligence, that is promoted by such a separation; and supposes a devotion, that spends more than many hours: for ordinary prayers, and many hours of every day, might well enough consist with an ordinary cohabitation; but that which requires such a separation, calls for a longer time and a greater attendance, than we usually consider. For every prayer we make is considered by God, and recorded in heaven; but cold prayers are not put into the account, in order to effect and acceptation; but are laid aside like the buds of roses, which a cold wind hath nipped into death, and the discolored tawny face of an Indian slave: and when in order to your hopes of obtaining a great blessing, you reckon up your prayers, with which you have solicited your suit in the court of heaven, you must reckon, not by the number of the collects, but by your sighs and passions, by the vehemence of your desires, and the fervor of your spirit, the apprehension of your need, and the consequent prosecution of your supply. Christ prayed κραυγαῖς ἰσχυραῖς, 'with loud cryings,' and St. Paul made mention of his scholars in his prayers 'night and day.' Fall on your knees and grow there, and let not your desires cool nor your zeal remit, but renew it again and again, and let not your offices and the custom of praying put thee in mind of thy need, but let thy need draw thee to thy holy offices; and remember how great a God, how glorious a majesty you speak to; therefore, let not your devotions and addresses be little. Remember how great a need thou hast; let not your desires be less. Remember, how great the thing is you pray for; do not undervalue it with any indifferency. Remember, that prayer is an act of religion; let it therefore be made thy business: and lastly, Remember that God hates a cold prayer; and therefore will never bless it, but it shall be always ineffectual.

3. Under this title of lukewarmness and tepidity may be comprised also these cautions, that a good man's prayers are sometimes hindered by inadvertency, sometimes by want of perseverance. For inadvertency, or want of attendance to the sense and intention of our prayers, is certainly an effect of lukewarmness, and a certain companion and appendage to human infirmity; and is only so remedied as our prayers are made zealous, and our infirmities pass into the strengths of the Spi-

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rit. But if we were quick in our perceptions, either concerning our danger, or our need, or the excellency of the object, or the glories of God, or the niceties and perfections of religion, we should not dare to throw away our prayers so like fools, or come to God and say a prayer with our mind standing at distance, trifling like untaught boys at their books, with a truantly spirit. I shall say no more to this, but that, in reason, we can never hope that God in heaven will hear our prayers, which we ourselves speak, and yet hear not at the same time, when we ourselves speak them with instruments joined to our ears; even with those organs which are parts of our hearing faculties. If they be not worth our own attending to, they are not worth God's hearing; if they are worth God's attending to, we must make them so by our own zeal, and passion, and industry, and observation, and a present and a holy spirit.

But concerning perseverance, the consideration is something distinct. For when our prayer is for a great matter, and a great necessity, strictly attended to, yet we pursue it only by chance or humor, by the strengths of fancy, and natural disposition; or else our choice is cool as soon as hot, like the emissions of lightning, or like a sunbeam often interrupted with a cloud, or cooled with intervening showers: and our prayer is without fruit, because the desire lasts not, and the prayer lives like the repentance of Simon Magus, or the trembling of Felix, or the Jews' devotion for seven days of unleavened bread, during the passover, or the feast of tabernacles: but if we would secure the blessing of our prayers, and the effect of our prayers, we must never leave off till we have obtained what we need.

There are many that pray against a temptation for a month together, and so long as the prayer is fervent, so long the man hath a nolition, and a direct enmity against the lust; he consents not all that while; but when the month is gone, and the prayer is removed, or become less active, then the temptation returns, and forages, and prevails, and seizes on all our unguarded strengths. There are some desires which have a period, and God's visitations expire in mercy at the revolution of a certain number of days; and our prayer must dwell so long

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as God's anger abides; and in all the storm we must outcry the noise of the tempest, and the voices of that thunder. But if we become hardened, and by custom and cohabitation with the danger lose our fears, and abate of our desires and devotions, many times we shall find that God, by a sudden breach on us, will chastise us for letting our hands go down. Israel prevailed no longer than Moses held up his hands in prayer; and he was forced to continue his prayer till the going down of the sun; that is, till the danger was over, till the battle was done. But when our desires and prayers are in the matter of spiritual danger, they must never be remitted, because danger continues for ever, and therefore so must our watchfulness and our guards. *Vult enim Deus rogari, vult cogi, vult quadam importunitate vinci*, says St. Gregory; "God loves to be invited, entreated, importuned, with an unquiet restless desire and a persevering prayer." Χρῆ ἀδιαλείπτως εὔχεσθαι τῆς περὶ τὸ θεῖον θρησκείας, said Proclus. That is a holy and a religious prayer, that never gives over, but renews the prayer, and dwells on the desire; for this only is effectual. Δηθύνοντι βροτῷ κραιπνοὶ μάκαρες τελέθουσι, "God hears the persevering man, and the unwearied prayer." For it is very considerable that we be very curious to observe; that many times a lust is *sopita, non mortua*, 'it is asleep;' the enemy is at truce, and at quiet for a while, but not conquered, 'not dead;' and if we put off our armor too soon, we lose all the benefit of our former war, and are surprised by indiligence and a careless guard. For God sometimes binds the devil in a short chain, and gives his servants respite, that they may feel the short pleasures of a peace, and the rest of innocence; and perceive what are the eternal felicities of heaven, where it shall be so for ever; but then we must return to our warfare again; and every second assault is more troublesome, because it finds our spirits at ease and without watchfulness, and delighted with a spiritual rest, and keeping holiday. But let us take heed; for whatsoever temptation we can be troubled withal by our natural temper, or by the condition of our life, or the evil circumstances of our condition, so long as we have capacity to feel it, so long we are in danger, and must 'watch thereunto with prayer' and continual diligence. And when your temptations let you alone, let not

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your God alone; but lay up prayers and the blessings of a constant devotion against the day of trial. Well may your temptation sleep, but if your prayers do so, you may chance to be awakened with an assault that may ruin you. However, the rule is easy: Whatsoever you need, ask it of God so long as you want it, even till you have it. For God, therefore, many times defers to grant, that thou mayest persevere to ask; and because every holy prayer is a glorification of God by the confessing many of his attributes, a lasting and a persevering prayer is a little image of the hallelujahs and services of eternity; it is a continuation to do that, according to our measures, which we shall be doing to eternal ages: therefore think not that five or six hearty prayers can secure to thee a great blessing, and a supply of a mighty necessity. He that prays so, and then leaves off, hath said some prayers, and done the ordinary offices of his religion; but hath not secured the blessing, nor used means reasonably proportionable to a mighty interest.

4. The prayers of a good man are oftentimes hindered, and destitute of their effect, for want of praying in good company; for sometimes an evil or an obnoxious person hath so secured and ascertained a mischief to himself, that he that stays in his company or his traffic, must also share in his punishment: and the Tyrian sailors with all their vows and prayers could not obtain a prosperous voyage, so long as Jonas was within the bark; for in this case the interest is divided, and the public sin prevails above the private piety. When the philosopher asked a penny of Antigonus, he told him "it was too little for a king to give;" when he asked a talent, he told him, "it was too much for a philosopher to receive;" for he did purpose to cozen his own charity, and elude the other's necessity, on pretence of a double inequality. So it is in the case of a good man mingled in evil company; if a curse be too severe for a good man, a mercy is not to be expected by evil company; and his prayer, when it is made in common, must partake of that event of things which is appropriate to that society. The purpose of this caution is, that every good man be careful that he do not mingle his devotion in the communions of heretical persons, and in schismatical conventicles; for although he be like them that follow Absalom in the simplicity of their heart, yet his

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intermedial fortune, and the event of his present affairs, may be the same with Absalom's; and it is not a light thing that we curiously choose the parties of our communion. I do not say it is necessary to avoid all the society of evil persons: "for then we must go out of the world;" and when we have thrown out a drunkard, possibly we have entertained a hypocrite; or when a swearer is gone, an oppressor may stay still; or if that be remedied, yet pride is soon discernible, but not easily judicable: but that which is of caution in this question is, that we never mingle with those whose very combination is a sin; such as were Corah and his company that rebelled against Moses their prince; and Dathan and Abiram, that made a schism in religion against Aaron the priest: for so said the Spirit of the Lord, 'Come out from the congregation of these men, lest ye perish in their company;' and all those that were abused in their communion, did perish in the gainsaying of Corah. It is a sad thing to see a good man cozened by fair pretences, and allured into an evil snare; for besides that he dwells in danger, and cohabits with a dragon, and his virtue may change by evil persuasion, into an evil disposition, from sweetness to bitterness, from thence to evil speaking, from thence to believe a lie, and from believing to practise it;—besides this, it is a very great sadness that such a man should lose all his prayers to very many purposes. God will not respect the offering of those men who assemble by a peevish spirit; and therefore, although God in pity regards the desires of a good man, if innocently abused, yet as it unites in that assembly, God will not hear it to any purposes of blessing and holiness: unless 'we keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace,' we cannot have the blessing of the Spirit in the returns of a holy prayer; and all those assemblies which meet together against God or God's ordinance, may pray and call, and cry loudly and frequently, and still they provoke God to anger; and many times he will not have so much mercy for them as to deny them; but lets them prosper in their sin, till it swells to intolerable and unpardonable. But when good men pray with one heart, and in a holy assembly, that is, holy in their desires, lawful in their authority, though the persons be of different complexions, then the prayer flies up to God like the hymns

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of a choir of angels; for God,—that made body and soul to be one man, and God and man to be one Christ; and three persons are one God, and his praises are sung to him by choirs, and the persons are joined in orders, and the orders into hierarchies, and all, that God might be served by unions and communities;—loves that his church should imitate the concords of heaven, and the unions of God, and that every good man should promote the interests of his prayers by joining in the communion of saints in the unions of obedience and charity, with the powers that God and the laws have ordained.

The sum is this: If the man that makes the prayer be an unholy person, his prayer is not the instrument of a blessing, but a curse; but when the sinner begins to repent truly, then his desires begin to be holy. But if they be holy, and just, and good, yet they are without profit and effect, if the prayer be made in schism, or an evil communion, or if it be made without attention, or if the man soon gives over, or if the prayer be not zealous, or if the man be angry. There are very many ways for a good man to become unblessed, and unthriving in his prayers, and he cannot be secure unless he be in the state of grace, and his spirit be quiet, and his mind be attentive, and his society be lawful, and his desires earnest and passionate, and his devotions persevering, lasting till his needs be served or exchanged for another blessing: so that, what Lælius (*apud Cicer. de senectute*) said concerning old age, *neque in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest, ne sapienti quidem, nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis;* "that a wise man could not bear old age, if it were extremely poor; and yet if it were very rich, it were intolerable to a fool;" we may say concerning our prayers; they are sins and unholy, if a wicked man makes them; and yet if they be made by a good man, they are ineffective, unless they be improved by their proper dispositions. A good man cannot prevail in his prayers, if his desires be cold, and his affections trifling, and his industry soon weary, and his society criminal; and if all these appendages of prayer be observed, yet they will do no good to an evil man; for his prayer that begins in sin, shall end in sorrow.

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SERMON II.

PART III.

3. NEXT I am to inquire and consider, What degrees and circumstances of piety are required to make us fit to be intercessors for others, and to pray for them with probable effect? I say 'with probable effect;' for when the event principally depends on that which is not within our own election, such as are the lives and actions of others, all that we can consider in this affair is, whether we be persons fit to pray in the behalf of others, that hinder not, but are persons within the limit and possibilities of the present mercy. When the emperor Maximinus was smitten with the wrath of God, and a sore disease, for his cruel persecuting the Christian cause, and putting so many thousand innocent and holy persons to death, and he understood the voice of God and the accents of thunder, and discerned that cruelty was the cause,—he revoked their decrees made against the Christians, recalled them from their caves and deserts, their sanctuaries and retirements, and enjoined them to pray for the life and health of their prince. They did so; and they who could command mountains to remove and were obeyed, they who could do miracles, they who with the key of prayer could open God's four closets, of the *womb* and the *grave*, of *providence* and *rain*,—could not obtain for their bloody emperor one drop of mercy, but he must die miserable for ever. God would not be entreated for him; and though he loved the prayer because he loved the advocates, yet Maximinus was not worthy to receive the blessing. And it was threatened to the rebellious people of Israel, and by them to all people that should sin grievously against the Lord, God 'would break their staff of bread,' and even the righteous should not be prevailing intercessors; 'Though Noah, Job, or Daniel, were there, they should deliver but their own souls by their righteousness, saith the Lord God:'* and when Abraham pre-

* Ezek. xiv. 14.

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vailed very far with God in the behalf of Sodom, and the five cities of the plain, it had its period: if there had been ten righteous in Sodom, it should have been spared for their sakes: but four only were found, and they only delivered their own souls too; but neither their righteousness, nor Abraham's prayer, prevailed any farther. And we have this case also mentioned in the New Testament: 'If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask, and he shall give him life for them that sin not unto death.'* At his prayer the sinner shall receive pardon; God shall 'give him life for them,' to him that prays in their behalf that sin, provided it be 'not a sin unto death:' for 'there is a sin unto death, but I do not say that he shall pray for it:' there his commission expires, and his power is confined. For there are some sins of that state and greatness that God will not pardon. St. Austin in his books *de Sermone Domini in Monte* affirms it, concerning some one single sin of a perfect malice. It was also the opinion of Origen and Athanasius, and is followed by Venerable Bede; and whether the Apostle means a peculiar state of sin, or some one single great crime which also supposes a precedent and a present state of criminal condition; it is such a thing as will hinder our prayers from prevailing in their behalf: we are therefore not encouraged to pray, because they cannot receive the benefit of Christ's intercession, and therefore much less of our advocation, which only can prevail by virtue and participation of his mediation. For whomsoever Christ prays, for them we pray; that is, for all them that are within the covenant of repentance, for all whose actions have not destroyed the very being of religion, who have not renounced their faith, nor voluntarily quit their hopes, nor openly opposed the Spirit of grace, nor grown by a long progress to a resolute and final impiety, nor done injustices greater than sorrow, or restitution, or recompense, or acknowlegement. However, though it may be uncertain and disputed concerning the number of 'sins unto death,' and therefore to pray, or not to pray, is not matter of duty;—yet it is all one as to the effect, whether we know them or no; for though we intend charity, when we pray for the worst of men—yet concerning the event God will take care,

* 1 John v. 16.

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and will certainly return thy prayer on thy own head, though thou didst desire it should water and refresh thy neighbor's dryness; and St. John so expresses it, as if he had left the matter of duty undetermined; because the instances are uncertain; yet the event is certainly none at all, therefore because we are not encouraged to pray, and because it is a 'sin unto death;' that is, such a sin that hath no portion in the promises of life, and the state of repentance. But now, suppose the man, for whom we pray, to be capable of mercy, within the covenant of repentance, and not far from the kingdom of heaven; yet,

No prayers of others can farther prevail, than to remove this person to the next stage in order to felicity. When St. Monica prayed for her son, she did not pray to God to save him, but to convert him; and when God intended to reward the prayers and alms of Cornelius, he did not do it by giving him a crown, but by sending an Apostle to him to make him a Christian; the meaning of which observation is, that we may understand, that as, in the person prayed for, there ought to be the great disposition of being in a savable condition; so there ought also to be all the intermedial aptnesses: for just as he is disposed, so can we prevail; and the prayers of a good man first prevail in behalf of a sinner, that he shall be invited, that he shall be reproved,—and then that he shall attend to it, then that he shall have his heart opened, and then that he shall repent: and still a good man's prayers follow him through the several stages of pardon, of sanctification, of restraining graces, of a mighty Providence, of great assistance, of perseverance, and a holy death. No prayers can prevail on an indisposed person. For the sun himself cannot enlighten a blind eye, nor the soul move a body whose silver cord is loosed, and whose joints are untied by the rudeness and dissolutions of a pertinacious sickness. But then, suppose an eye quick and healthful, or apt to be refreshed with light and a friendly prospect; yet a glow-worm or a diamond, the shells of pearl, or a dead man's candle, are not enough to make him discern the beauties of the world, and to admire the glories of creation. Therefore,

1. As the persons must be capable for whom we pray, so they that pray for others must be persons extraordinary in something. 1. If persons be of an extraordinary piety, they

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are apt to be intercessors for others. This appears in the case of Job: when the wrath of God was kindled against Eliphaz and his two friends, God commanded them to offer a sacrifice, but 'my servant Job shall pray for you, for him will I accept:'* and it was so in the case of the prevaricating Israelites; God was full of indignation against them, and smote them; 'then stood up Phinehas and prayed, and the plague ceased.' For this man was a good man, and the spirit of an extraordinary zeal filled him, and he did glory to God in the execution on Zimri and his fair Midianite. And it was a huge blessing, that was entailed on the posterity of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; because they had a great religion, a great power with God, and their *extraordinary* did consist especially in the matter of prayers and devotion; for that was eminent in them, besides their obedience: for so Maimonides tells concerning them, that Abraham first instituted morning-prayer. The affairs of religion had not the same constitution then as now. They worshipped God never but at their memorials, and in places, and seldom times of separation. They bowed their head when they came to a hallowed stone, and on the top of their staff, and worshipped when they came to a consecrated pillar, but this was seldom; and they knew not the secrets and the privileges of a frequent prayer, of intercourses with God by ejaculations, and the advantages of importunity: and the doctors of the Jews,—that record the prayer of Noah, who in all reason knew the secret best, because he was to teach it to all the world,—yet have transmitted to us but a short prayer of some seven lines long; and this he only said within the ark, in that great danger, once on a day, provoked by his fear, and stirred up by a religion then made actual, in those days of sorrow and penance. But in the descending ages, when God began to reckon a church in Abraham's family, there began to be a new institution of offices, and Abraham appointed that God should be prayed to every morning. Isaac being taught by Abraham, made a law, or at least commended the practice, and adopted it into the religion, that God should be worshipped by decimation or tithing of our goods; and he added an order of

* Chap. xlii. 7, 8.

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prayer to be said in the afternoon; and Jacob, to make up the office complete, added evening-prayer; and God was their God, and they became fit persons to bless, that is, of procuring blessings to their relatives; as appears in the instances of their own families; of the king of Egypt, and the cities of the plain. For a man of an ordinary piety is like Gideon's fleece, wet in its own locks; but it could not water a poor man's garden; but so does a thirsty land drink all the dew of heaven that wets its face, and a greater shower makes no torrent, nor digs so much as a little furrow, that the drills of the water might pass into rivers, or refresh their neighbor's weariness; but when the earth is full, and hath no strange consumptive needs, then at the next time, when God blesses it with a gracious shower, it divides into portions, and sends it abroad in free and equal communications, that all that stand round about may feel the shower. So is a good man's prayer; his own cup is full, it is crowned with health, and overflows with blessings, and all that drink of his cup and eat at his table are refreshed with his joys, and divide with him in his holy portions. And indeed he hath need of a great stock of piety, who is first to provide for his own necessities, and then to give portions to a numerous relation. It is a great matter, that every man needs for himself,—the daily expenses of his own infirmities, the unthriving state of his omission of duties, and recessions from perfection,—and sometimes the great losses and shipwrecks, the plunderings and burning of his house by a fall into a deadly sin; and most good men are in this condition, that they have enough to do to live, and keep themselves above water; but how few men are able to pay their own debts, and lend great portions to others? The number of those who can effectually intercede for others to great purposes of grace and pardon, are as soon told as the number of wise men, as the gates of a city, or the entries of the river Nilus.

But then do but consider what a great engagement this is to a very strict and holy life. If we chance to live in times of an extraordinary trouble, or if our relatives can be capable of great dangers or great sorrows, or if we ourselves would do the noblest friendship in the world, and oblige others by acts of greatest benefit; if we would assist their souls and work

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towards their salvation; if we would be public ministers of the greatest usefulness to our country; if we would support kings, and relieve the great necessities of kingdoms; if we would be effective in the stopping of a plague, or in the success of armies; —a great and an exemplar piety, and a zealous and holy prayer, can do all this. *Semper tu hoc facito, ut cogites, id optimum esse, tute ut sis optimus; si id nequeas, saltem ut optimis sis proximus:* "He that is the best man towards God, is certainly the best minister to his prince or country, and therefore do thou endeavor to be so, and if thou canst not be so, be at least next to the best." For in that degree in which our religion is great, and our piety exemplar, in the same we can contribute towards the fortune of a kingdom: and when Elijah was taken into heaven, Elisha mourned for him, because it was a loss to Israel: 'My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and horsemen thereof.' But consider how useless thou art, when thou canst not by thy prayers obtain so much mercy, as to prevail for the life of a single trooper, or in a plague beg of God for the life of a poor maid-servant; but the ordinary emanations of Providence shall proceed to issue without any arrest, and the sword of the angel shall not be turned aside in one single affliction. Remember, although he is a great and excellent person, that can prevail with God for the interest of others; yet thou, that hast no stock of grace and favor, no interest in the court of Heaven, art but a mean person, extraordinary in nothing; thou art unregarded by God, cheap in the sight of angels, useless to thy prince or country; thou mayest hold thy peace in a time of public danger. For kings never pardon murderers at the intercession of thieves; and if a mean mechanic should beg a reprieve for a condemned traitor, he is ridiculous and impudent: so is a vicious advocate, or an ordinary person with God. It is well if God will hear him begging for his own pardon, he is not yet disposed to plead for others.

And yet every man that is in the state of grace, every man that can pray without a sinful prayer, may also intercede for others; and it is a duty for all men to do it; all men, I say, who can pray at all acceptably: 'I will, therefore, that prayers, and supplications, and intercessions, and giving of thanks, be made for all men;' and this is a duty that is prescribed to all

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them that are concerned in the duty and in the blessings of prayer; but this is it which I say—if their piety be but ordinary, their prayer can be effectual but in easy purposes, and to smaller degrees; but he,—that would work effectually towards a great deliverance, or in great degrees towards the benefit or ease of any of his relatives,—can be confident of his success but in the same degree in which his person is gracious. 'There are strange things in heaven:' judgments there are made of things and persons by the measures of religion, and a plain promise produces effects of wonder and miracle; and the changes that are there made, are not effected by passions, and interests, and corporal changes; and the love that is there, is not the same thing that is here; it is more beneficial, more reasonable, more holy, of other designs, and strange productions; and on that stock it is, that a holy poor man,—that possesses no more (it may be) than a ewe-lamb, that eats of his bread, and drinks of his cup, and is a daughter to him, and is all his temporal portion,—this poor man is ministered to by angels, and attended to by God, and the Holy Spirit makes intercession for him, and Christ joins the man's prayer to his own advocation, and the man by prayer shall save the city, and destroy the fortune of a tyrant-army, even then when God sees it good it should be so: for he will no longer deny him any thing, but when it is no blessing; and when it is otherwise, his prayer is most heard when it is most denied.

2. That we should prevail in intercessions for others, we are to regard and to take care, that as our piety, so also must our offices be extraordinary. He that prays to recover a family from an hereditary curse, or to reverse a sentence of God, to cancel a decree of Heaven gone out against his friend; he that would heal the sick with his prayer, or with his devotion prevail against an army, must not expect such great effects on a morning or evening collect, or an honest wish put into the recollections of a prayer, or a period put in on purpose. Mamercus, bishop of Vienna, seeing his city and all the diocese in great danger of perishing by an earthquake, instituted great litanies, and solemn supplications, besides the ordinary devotions of his usual hours of prayer; and the church from his example took up the practice, and translated it into an anni-

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versary solemnity, and on St. Mark's day did solemnly intercede with God to divert or prevent his judgments falling on the people, *majoribus litaniis*, so they are called; with the more solemn supplications they did pray unto God in behalf of their people. And this hath in it the same consideration, that is in every great necessity; for it is a great thing for a man to be so gracious with God as to be able to prevail for himself and his friend, for himself and his relatives; and therefore in these cases, as in all great needs, it is the way of prudence and security, that we use all those greater offices which God hath appointed as instruments of importunity, and arguments of hope, and acts of prevailing, and means of great effect and advocation: such as are, separating days for solemn prayer, all the degrees of violence and earnest address, fasting and prayer, alms and prayer, acts of repentance and prayer, praying together in public with united hearts, and, above all, praying in the susception and communication of the holy sacrament; the effects and admirable issues of which we know not and perceive not; we lose because we desire not, and choose to lose many great blessings rather than purchase them with the frequent commemoration of that sacrifice which was offered up for all the needs of mankind, and for obtaining all favors and graces to the Catholic church. *Εὐχῆς δικαίας οὐκ ἀνήκοος Θεὸς*, "God never refuses to hear a holy prayer;" and our prayers can never be so holy, as when they are offered up in the union of Christ's sacrifice: for Christ, by that sacrifice, reconciled God and the world; and because our needs continue, therefore we are commanded to continue the memory, and to represent to God that which was done to satisfy all our needs: then we receive Christ; we are, after a secret and mysterious, but most real and admirable manner, made all one with Christ; and if God giving us his Son could not but 'with him give us all things else,' how shall he refuse our persons when we are united to his person, when our souls are joined to his soul, our body nourished by his body, and our souls sanctified by his blood, and clothed with his robes, and marked with his character, and sealed with his Spirit, and renewed with holy vows, and consigned to all his glories, and adopted to his inheritance? when we represent his death, and pray in virtue of his passion, and

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imitate his intercession, and do that which God commands, and offer him in our manner that which he essentially loves; can it be that either any thing should be more prevalent, or that God can possibly deny such addresses and such importunities? Try it often, and let all things be answerable, and you cannot have greater reason for your confidence. Do not all the Christians in the world that understand religion, desire to have the holy sacrament when they die; when they are to make their great appearance before God, and to receive their great consignation to their eternal sentence, good or bad? And if then be their greatest needs, that is their greatest advantage, and instrument of acceptation. Therefore if you have a great need to be served, or a great charity to serve, and a great pity to minister, and a dear friend in a sorrow, take Christ along in thy prayers: in all thy ways thou canst, take him; take him in affection, and take him in a solemnity; take him by obedience, and receive him in the sacrament; and if thou then offerest up thy prayers, and makest thy needs known; if thou nor thy friend be not relieved; if thy party be not prevalent, and the war be not appeased, or the plague be not cured, or the enemy taken off, there is something else in it: but thy prayer is good and pleasing to God, and dressed with circumstances of advantage, and thy person is apt to be an intercessor, and thou hast done all that thou canst; the event must be left to God; and the secret reasons of the denial, either thou shalt find in time, or thou mayest trust with God, who certainly does it with the greatest wisdom and the greatest charity. I have in this thing only one caution to insert; namely,

That in our importunity and extraordinary offices for others, we must not make our accounts by multitude of words, and long prayers, but by the measures of the spirit, by the holiness of the soul, and the justness of the desire, and the usefulness of the request, and its order to God's glory, and its place in the order of providence, and the sincerity of our heart, and the charity of our wishes, and the perseverance of our advocation. There are some, (as Tertullian observes,) *Qui loquacitatem facundiam existimant, et impudentiam constantiam deputant;* "they are praters and they are impudent, and they call that constancy and importunity:" concerning which the advice is

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easy: many words or few are extrinsical to the nature, and not at all considered in the effects of prayer; but much desire and much holiness are essential to its constitution; but we must be very curious that our importunity do not degenerate into impudence and rude boldness. Capitolinus said of Antoninus the emperor and philosopher, *Sane quamvis esset constans, erat etiam verecundus;* "he was modest even when he was most pertinacious in his desires." So must we; though we must not be ashamed to ask for whatsoever we need, *Rebus semper pudor absit in arctis:* and in this sense it is true that Stasimus in the comedy said concerning meat, *Verecundari neminem apud mensam decet, Nam ibi de divinis et humanis cernitur:* "men must not be bashful so as to lose their meat; for that is a necessary that cannot be dispensed withal:" so it is in our prayers; whatsoever our necessity calls to us for, we must call to God for; and he is not pleased with that rusticity or fond modesty of being ashamed to ask of God any thing, that is honest and necessary; yet our importunity hath also bounds of modesty, but such as are to be expressed with other significations; and he is rightly modest towards God, who, without confidence in himself, but not without confidence in God's mercy, or without great humility of person, and reverence of address, presents his prayers to God as earnestly as he can; provided always, that in the greatest of our desires and holy violence we submit to God's will, and desire him to choose for us. Our modesty to God in prayers hath no other measures but these: 1. distrust of ourselves: 2. confidence in God: 3. humility of person: 4. reverence of address: and, 5. submission to God's will. These are all, unless you also will add that of Solomon, 'Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter a thing before God; for God is in heaven, and thou on earth: therefore let thy words be few.' These things being observed, let your importunity be as great as it can; it is still the more likely to prevail, by how much it is the more earnest, and signified and represented by the most offices extraordinary.

3. The last great advantage towards a prevailing intercession for others is, that the person that prays for his relatives be a person of an extraordinary dignity, employment, or designa-

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tion. For God hath appointed some persons and callings of men to pray for others, such are fathers for their children, bishops for their dioceses, kings for their subjects, and the whole order ecclesiastical for all the men and women in the Christian church. And it is well it is so; for as things are now, and have been too long, how few are there that understand it to be their duty, or part of their necessary employment, that some of their time, and much of their prayers, and an equal portion of their desires, be spent on the necessities of others. All men do not think it necessary, and fewer practise it frequently, and they but coldly, without interest and deep resentment: it is like the compassion we have in other men's miseries, we are not concerned in it, and it is not our case, and our hearts ache not when another man's children are made fatherless, or his wife a sad widow: and just so are our prayers for their relief: if we thought their evils to be ours,—if we and they, as members of the same body, had sensible and real communications of good and evil,—if we understood what is really meant by being 'members one of another,' or if we did not think it a spiritual word of art, instrumental only to a science, but no part of duty, or real relation,—surely we should pray more earnestly one for another than we usually do. How few of us are troubled when he sees his brother wicked or dishonorably vicious! Who is sad and melancholy when his neighbor is almost in hell? when he sees him grow old in iniquity? How many days have we set apart for the public relief and interests of the kingdom? How earnestly have we fasted if our prince be sick or afflicted? What alms have we given for our brother's conversion? Or if this be great, how importunate and passionate have we been with God by prayer in his behalf, by prayer and secret petition? But, however, though it were well, very well, that all of us would think of this duty a little more; because, besides the excellency of the duty itself, it would have this blessed consequent, that for whose necessities we pray, if we do desire earnestly they should be relieved, we would, whenever we can and in all we can, set our hands to it; and if we pity the orphan-children, and pray for them heartily, we would also, when we could, relieve them charitably: but though it were therefore very well that things were thus with all men, yet God, who takes

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care of us all, makes provision for us in special manner; and the whole order of the clergy are appointed by God to pray for others, to be ministers of Christ's priesthood, to be followers of his advocation, to stand between God and the people, and to present to God all their needs and all their desires. That this God hath ordained and appointed, and that this rather he will bless and accept, appears by the testimony of God himself, for he only can be witness in this particular, for it depends wholly on his gracious favor and acceptation. It was the case of Abraham and Abimelech: 'Now, therefore, restore the man his wife, for he is a prophet, and he will pray for thee, and thou shalt live;'* and this caused confidence in Micah: 'Now know I that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my priest:'† meaning that in his ministry, in the ministry of priests, God hath established the alternate returns of blessing and prayers, the intercourses between God and his people; and through the descending ages of the synagogue it came to be transmitted also to the Christian Church, that the ministers of religion are advocates for us under Christ, by 'the ministry of reconciliation,' by their dispensing the holy sacraments, by 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' by baptism and the Lord's supper, by 'binding and loosing,' by 'the word of God and prayer;' and therefore, saith St. James, 'If any man be sick among you, let him send for the elders of the Church, and let them pray over him;'‡ meaning that God hath appointed them especially, and will accept them in ordinary and extraordinary: and this is that which is meant by blessing. A father blesses his child, and Solomon blessed his people, and Melchisedec the priest blessed Abraham, and Moses blessed the sons of Israel, and God appointed the Levitical priests to 'bless the congregation;' and this is more than can be done by the people; for though they can say the same prayer, and the people pray for their kings, and children for their parents, and the flock for the pastor, yet they cannot bless him as he blesseth them; 'for the less is blessed of the greater, and not the greater of the less;' and this is 'without all contradiction,'§ said St.

* Gen. xx. 7. † Judg. xvii. 13. ‡ James v. 14.
§ Heb. vii. 7.

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Paul: the meaning of the mystery is this, That God hath appointed the priest to pray for the people, and because he hath made it to be his ordinary office and employment, he also intends to be seen in that way which he hath appointed and chalked out for us; his prayer, if it be 'found in the way of righteousness,' is the surer way to prevail in his intercessions for the people.

But on this stock comes in the greatest difficulty of the text: for if 'God heareth not sinners,' there is an infinite necessity that the ministers of religion should be very holy: for all their ministries consist in preaching and praying; to these two are reducible all the ministries ecclesiastical, which are of divine institution: so the apostles summed up their employment: 'But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word:'* to exhort, to reprove, to comfort, to cast down, to determine cases of conscience, and to rule in the church by 'the word of their proper ministry;' and the very making laws ecclesiastical is the ministry of the word; for so their dictates pass into laws by being duties enjoined by God, or the acts, or exercises, or instruments of some enjoined graces. To prayer is reduced 'administration of the sacraments;' but 'binding and loosing,' and 'visitation of the sick,' are mixed offices, partly relating to one, partly to the other. Now although the word of God preached will have a great effect, even though it be preached by an evil minister, a vicious person; yet it is not so well there, as from a pious man, because by prayer also his preaching is made effectual, and by his good example his homilies and sermons are made active; and therefore it is very necessary in respect of this half of the minister's office, 'the preaching of the word,' he be a good man; unless he be, much perishes to the people, most of the advantages are lost. But then for the other half, all those ministries which are by way of prayer, are rendered extremely invalid and ineffectual, if they be ministered by an evil person. For on this very stock it was that St. Cyprian affirmed, that none were to be chosen to the ministry but *immaculati et integri antistites*, 'holy and upright men,' who, offering their sacrifices worthily

* Acts vi. 4.

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to God and holily, may be heard in their prayers, which they make for the safety of the Lord's people.'* But he presses this caution to a farther issue: that it is not only necessary to choose holy persons to these holy ministries for fear of losing the advantages of a sanctified ministry, but also that the people may not be guilty of an evil communion, and a criminal state of society. *Nec enim sibi plebs blandiatur, quasi immunis a contagione delicti esse possit, cum sacerdote peccatore communicans;* "The people cannot be innocent if they communicate with a vicious priest:" for so said the Lord by the prophet Hosea, *Sacrificia eorum panis luctûs;* for 'their sacrifices are like bread of sorrow, whosoever eats thereof shall be defiled.' The same also he says often and more vehemently, *ibid. et lib.* 4. *ep.* 2. But there is yet a farther degree of this evil. It is not only a loss, and also criminal to the people to communicate with a minister of a notorious evil life and scandalous, but it is affirmed by the doctors of the church to be wholly without effect; and their prayers are sins, their sacraments are null and ineffective, their communions are without consecration, their hand is χεὶρ ἄκυρος, 'a dead hand,' the blessings vain, their sacrifices rejected, their ordinations imperfect, their order is vanished, their character is extinguished, and the Holy Ghost will not descend on the mysteries, when he is invocated by unholy hands, and unsanctified lips. This is a sad story, but it is expressly affirmed by Dionysius, by St. Jerome on the second chapter of Zephaniah,† affirming that they do wickedly, who affirm *Eucharistiam imprecantis facere verba, non vitam; et necessariam esse tantum solennem orationem et non sacerdotum merita:* "that the eucharist is consecrated by the word and solemn prayer, and not by the life and holiness of the priest;" and by St. Gelasius,‡ by the author of the imperfect work attributed to St. Chrysostom,§ who quotes the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions for the same doctrine; the words of which in the first chapter are so plain, that Bovius|| and Sixtus Senensis¶ accuse both the author of the Apostolical Constitutions, and St. Jerome, and the author of these homilies, to be

* Lib. i. Ep. 4. † Ad Demo. ‡ l. q. l. c. sacrosanota.
§ Homil. 53. || In Scholiis ad hunc locum.
¶ Lib. vi. A.D. 108. Biblioth.

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guilty of the doctrine of John Huss, who for the crude delivery of this truth was sentenced by the council of Constance. To the same sense and signification of doctrine is that, which is generally agreed on by almost all persons; that he that enters into his ministry by simony, receives nothing but a curse, which is expressly affirmed by Petrus Damiani,* and Tarasius† the patriarch of Constantinople, by St. Gregory,‡ and St. Ambrose.§

For if the Holy Ghost leaves polluted temples and unchaste bodies, if he takes away his grace from them that abuse it, if the Holy Ghost would not have descended on Simon Magus at the prayer of St. Peter, if St. Peter had taken money for him; it is but reasonable to believe, the Holy Ghost will not descend on the simoniacal, unchaste concubinaries, schismatics, and scandalous priests, and excommunicate. And beside the reasonableness of the doctrine, it is also farther affirmed by the council of Neocæsarea, by St. Chrysostom,|| Innocentius,¶ Nicholaus the First,** and by the Master of the Sentences on the saying of God by the prophet Malachi, i. *Maledicam benedictionibus vestris*, 'I will curse your blessings:' on the stock of these scriptures, reasons, and authorities, we may see how we are to understand this advantage of intercession. The prayer and offices of the holy ministers are of great advantages for the interest of the people; but if they be ministered to by evil men, by vicious and scandalous ministers, this extraordinary advantage is lost, they are left to stand alone or to fall by their own crimes; so much as is the action of God, and so much as is the piety of the man that attends and prays in the holy place with the priest, so far he shall prevail, but no farther; and therefore the church hath taught her ministers to pray thus in their preparatory prayer to consecration; *Quoniam me peccatorem inter te et eundem populum medium esse voluisti, licèt in me boni operis testimonium non agnoscas, officium dispensationis credita*

* Ep. 16. Biblioth. pp. tom. 3. n. 19.
† Decret. l. q. l. ad c. eos qui.
‡ Lib. vi. regist. 5. in decretis et l. vii. c. 120.
§ De dignit. sacerd. c. 5. || Can. 9. orat. 4. de sacerd.
¶ l. in ep. 20. hom. 1. part. 2. ep. 27.
** Ep. 9. tom. 3. ad Micael. imperator. d. in 4. dist. 13.

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non recuses, nec per me, indignum famulum tuum, eorum salutis pereat pretium, pro quibus victima factus salutaris; dignatus es fieri redemptio. For we must know that God hath not put the salvation of any man into the power of another. And although the church of Rome, by calling the priest's actual intention simply necessary, and the sacraments also indispensably necessary, hath left it in the power of every curate to damn very many of his parish; yet it is otherwise with the accounts of truth, and the divine mercy; and therefore he will never exact the sacraments of us by the measures and proportions of an evil priest, but by the piety of the communicant, by the prayers of Christ, and the mercies of God. But although the greatest interest of salvation depends not on this ministry; yet, as by this we receive many advantages, if the minister be holy: so, if he be vicious, we lose all that which could be conveyed to us by his part of the holy ministration; every man and woman in the assembly prays and joins in the effect, and for the obtaining the blessing; but the more vain persons are assembled, the less benefits are received, even by good men there present: and therefore much is the loss, if a wicked priest ministers, though the sum of affairs is not intirely turned on his office or default; yet many advantages are. For we must not think that the effect of the sacraments is indivisibly done at once, or by one ministry; but they operate by parts, and by moral operation, by the length of time, and whole order of piety, and holy ministries; every man is *συνεργὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ*, 'a fellow-worker with God,' in the work of his salvation; and as in our devotion no one prayer of our own alone prevails on God for grace and salvation, but all the devotions of our life are on God's account for them; so is the blessing of God brought on the people by all the parts of their religion, and by all the assistances of holy people, and by the ministries, not of one, but of all God's ministers, and relies finally on our own faith, and obedience, and the mercies of God in Jesus Christ; but yet, for want of holy persons to minister, much diminution of blessing, and a loss of advantage is unavoidable; therefore, if they have great necessities, they can best hope that God will be moved to mercy on their behalf, if their necessities be recom-

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mended to God by persons of a great piety, of a holy calling, and by the most solemn offices.

Lastly, I promised to consider concerning the signs of having our prayers heard: concerning which there is not much of particular observation; but if our prayers be according to the warrant of God's word, if we ask according to God's will things honest and profitable, we are to rely on the promises; and we are sure that they are heard; and besides this we can have no sign but 'the thing signified;' when we feel the effect, then we are sure God hath heard us; but till then we are to leave it with God, and not to ask a sign of that, for which he hath made us a promise. And yet Cassian hath named one sign, which, if you give me leave, I will name unto you. "It is a sign we shall prevail in our prayers, when the Spirit of God moves us to pray—*cum fiducia et quasi securitate impetrandi*, with a confidence and a holy security of receiving what we ask."* But this is no otherwise a sign, but because it is a part of the duty; and trusting in God is an endearing him, and doubting is a dishonor to him; and he that doubts has no faith; for all good prayers rely on God's word, and we must judge of the effect by Providence: for he that asks what is 'not lawful,' hath made an unholy prayer; if it be lawful and 'not profitable,' we are then heard, when God denies us: and if both these be in the prayer, 'he that doubts is a sinner,' and then God will not hear him; but beyond this I know no confidence is warrantable; and if this be a sign of prevailing, then all the prudent prayers of all holy men shall certainly be heard; and because that is certain, we need no farther inquiry into signs.

I sum up all in the words of God by the prophet; 'Run to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if you can find a man, if there be any that executeth judgment, that seeketh truth,' *virem quærentem fidem*, 'a man that seeketh for faith;' *et propitius ero ei*, 'and I will pardon it.'† God would pardon all Jerusalem for one good man's sake; there are such days and opportunities of mercy, when God, at the prayer of one holy person, will save a people; and Ruffinus spake a great thing, but it

* Collat. ix. c. 23. † Jer. v. 1.

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was hugely true; *Quis dubitet mundum stare precibus sanctorum?* "the world itself is established and kept from dissolution by the prayers of saints;" and the prayers of saints shall hasten the day of judgment; and we cannot easily find two effects greater. But there are many other very great ones; for the prayers of holy men appease God's wrath, drive away temptations, and resist and overcome the devil: holy prayer procures the ministry and service of angels, it rescinds the decrees of God, it cures sicknesses and obtains pardon, it arrests the sun in its course, and stays the wheels of the chariot of the moon; it rules over all God's creatures, and opens and shuts the storehouses of rain; it unlocks the cabinet of the womb, and quenches the violence of fire; it stops the mouths of lions, and reconciles our sufferance and weak faculties with the violence of torment and sharpness of persecution; it pleases God and supplies all our needs. But prayer that can do thus much for us, can do nothing at all without holiness: for 'God heareth not sinners, but if any man be a worshipper of God, and doth his will, him he heareth.'

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SUMMARY OF SERMON III.

HEBREWS, CHAP. XII.—VERSES 28-29.

PART I.

DIFFERENT interpretation of the text proposed; that is, instead of, *Let us have grace*, 'We have grace:' reason for this; that the Apostle, having enumerated the great advantages which the gospel has above law, makes an argument *a majori*, and answers a tacit objection. The law was delivered with amazing terrors; but the gospel was given by a meek prince, with a still voice, &c. But that this may be no objection, he proceeds and declares the terror of the Lord; as if he should say, "deceive not yourselves; our Lawgiver appeared so on earth, and was truly so; but now he has ascended into heaven, from whence he speaks to us." His future terrors at his second coming dilated on. This truth may have power and efficacy to make us do our duty: this is the grace which we have to enable us to do so, &c.; and therefore the Apostle declares in the text, by way of caution, *our God is a consuming fire.*

Reverence and godly fear, they are the effects of this consideration, they are the duties of every Christian, they are the graces of God. They are here pressed only to purposes of awe, modesty of opinion, and prayers, against those strange doctrines which some have introduced into religion, to the destruction of all manners and prudent apprehension of the distance between God and man; such as are the doctrine of the necessity of a familiarity with God, a parity of estate, and an evenness of adoption; whence proceed rudeness in prayer, indecent ex-

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pressions, &c.: this enlarged on: utility of the fear of God in this point of view.

Concerning this duty three considerations are urged; 1. How far fear is a duty of the Christian religion. 2. What men ought to fear, and on what grounds. 3. What is the excess or obliquity of fear, whereby it becomes a state of evil, and not a state of duty.

I. Fear is taken sometimes in Scripture for the whole duty of man; for his whole religion towards God: this shown.

Fear is sometimes taken for *worship:* this also shown. Thus far then *fear* is not a distinct duty, and cannot come under the text.

Therefore *fear*, as it is a religious passion, is divided as the two Testaments are; it relates to the old and new covenant, and accordingly hath its distinction. In the law God used his people like servants; in the gospel he hath made us to be his sons: this topic dilated on. Hence they of old feared God as a severe Lord; but we have not received that spirit *unto fear*, that is, servile fear; but *the spirit of adoption* and filial fear we must have: this enlarged on. The proportions of Christian or godly fear are more exactly measured by the following propositions.

1. Godly fear is ever without despair; because Christian fear is an instrument of duty; and duty without hope can never go forward: this topic enlarged on.

2. Godly fear must always be with honorable opinion of God, without disparagement of his mercies, without quarrellings at the measures of his providence, or the rough ways of his justice; and therefore it must be ever relative to ourselves, our own failings and imperfections: this dilated on.

3. This fear is operative, diligent, and instrumental to caution and strict walking: for so fear is the mother of holy living; and the Apostle urges it by way of upbraiding: *What! do we provoke God to anger? Are we stronger than him?* meaning,

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if we cannot check the flowing of the sea, or add one cubit to our stature, how shall we escape the mighty hand of God?

Let us heighten our apprehensions of the divine power, justice, and severity, as much as possible, provided the effect pass on no farther, than to make us reverent and obedient: but that fear is unreasonable which ends in bondage and servile affections, &c.: its proper bounds are humble and devout prayers, holy piety, &c. To God's grace and mercy we may safely commit ourselves; but because we are earthen vessels under a law, assaulted by enemies and temptations, it concerns us to fear, lest we make God an enemy and a party against us. And this brings us to the next consideration.

II. Who and what states of men ought to fear, and for what reasons. For as the former cautions did limit, so this will encourage: those did direct, but this will exercise our godly fear.

The general reasons of fear, which concern every man, are not here insisted on; though every one, even the most confident and holy, has cause to fear, when the eye of God is ever on him, and he is assaulted by enemies from within and from without.

Instances only are given in the case of some peculiar men, who least think of it, and therefore have the greatest cause to fear.

1. First, are those of whom the Apostle speaks, *Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.* They are persons of an ordinary course of life, who falling into no enormous crimes have no reflexions and checks of conscience; whose faith is tempted, and whose piety does not grow; who yield a little, do all they lawfully can do; and study how much is lawful, that they may lose no temporal good. Many sorts of such persons, and their danger, described. 2. They also have great reason to fear, whose repentance is broken into fragments, and is never a whole and intire change of life; who resolve and pray against a sin, till that unlucky period arrives in which they use to act

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it, and then they as certainly commit it, as they will repent afterwards. There are many Christians who feel this feverish repentance to be their best state of health; who get not the victory over their sin, but remain within its power: this dilated on. Opinions of the primitive church and fathers thereon. Such men ought to fear lest God should deride the folly of their oft-renewed repentance, and at length give them no farther opportunities of exercising it.

PART II.

Subject resumed. They have great reason to fear, whose sins are not yet remitted; for they are within the dominion of sin, within the kingdom of darkness, and the regions of fear: state of such persons described; and the course which they generally take, of relying on God's mercy, and hoping for pardon on the slightest conditions. Terrible state of those men who grow old in habitual sins, and yet think, if they die, that their account stands as fair in the sight of God's mercy, as St. Peter's after his tears and sorrow.

Our sins are not to be pardoned on such easy terms: this shown. There is great reason for such men to fear and tremble when their Judge summons them to appear: this enlarged on.

If we consider on what trifling grounds most men hope for pardon, (if that can be called hope which is but a careless boldness,) we shall see good reason to pity many, who are going on merrily to a sad and intolerable end. Pardon of sins is a mercy which Christ purchased with his blood, which he ministers to us on conditions of an infinite kindness, but yet of great holiness, obedience, and living faith: it is a grace that the most holy persons beg of God with mighty passion and diligence, expecting it with trembling fears and uncertain souls; whilst it enters on them by degrees and small portions. This

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conflict compared to the flowing of the tide, which retires oft and gains the shore by little and little. Example of David enlarged on. If we expect to find *the sure mercies* of David, we must gain them on the same terms; on such as are revealed, and which include time, labor, watchfulness, fear, and holy living. Pardon of sins is not easily obtained: but because there are sorrows and dangers and temptations environing us, it will concern all men to know when their sins are pardoned. A certain sign of this declared, as follows.

1. Sin makes God angry; and his anger, if not averted, will render us accursed and miserable. 2. Sin has obliged us to suffer many evils, even whatsoever the anger of God is pleased to inflict, and as in his several covenants he has expressed. 3. In the law of Moses sin bound them to temporal evils only, though sore and heavy: in the gospel Christ added the menaces of evils spiritual and eternal. 4. The great evil of the Jews was their abscission, or cutting off from being God's people, to which eternal damnation answers with us, &c. 5. When God had visited any of the sinners of Israel with a grievous sickness, then they lay under the evil of their sin, and were not pardoned till God took away the sickness; or the taking away the evil of the punishment was the pardon of the sin: and so it appears in the gospel, from Christ's words to the man sick of the palsy; Matt. ix. 2-6. The next step is this; that although under the gospel God punishes sinners with temporal judgments, and tokens of his wrath, yet besides these lesser evils he has much worse with which to chastise the disobedient: he punishes one sin with another; vile acts with evil habits; these with a hard heart; this again with impenitence; and impenitence with damnation. Now because the worst of evils are such as consign us to hell by our perseverance in sin, as God takes off our love and our affections, our relations and bondage under sin, just in the same degree he pardons us; because the punishment of sin being taken off, there can remain no guilt: and since

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spiritual ills and progressions in sin, &c. are the worst of evils, when these are taken off, the sin hath lost its venom and appendant curse: in the same degree therefore that a man leaves off his sin, is he pardoned; and he is sure of it: for although a curing of the temporal evil was the pardon of sins among the Jews, yet we must measure our pardon by the cure of the spiritual: this topic enlarged on.

They have great reason to fear concerning their condition, who having been in the state of grace, having begun to lead a good life, and given their names to God by solemn and deliberate acts of the will, retire to folly, unravel all their holy vows, and commit again those crimes from which they ran. Evils of this return to folly enumerated. 1. He that so falls back does *grieve the holy Spirit of God, by which he was sealed to the day of redemption:* for if, at the conversion of a sinner, there is joy in heaven, the antithesis is evident. 2. This falling away after we have begun to live well, is a great cause of fear, because there is added to it the circumstance that it is inexcusable. The man hath been taught the secrets of the kingdom, and tasted its pleasures; his sin began to be pardoned, he felt the pleasures of victory and the blessings of peace; but he fell off, against both his reason and his interest: this enlarged on. 3. He that thus returns from virtue to his old vices is forced to do violence to his own reason, in order to make his conscience quiet: he has no way left but either to be impudent, which is hard at first, or to entertain new principles, and apply his mind to believe a lie: this enlarged on. 4. Besides all this, he that thus falls away may be said to add ingratitude to his load of sins: he sins against God's mercy, and throws away the reward of virtue for an interest which he himself despised the first day in which he began to take sober counsels. So that this man has great cause to fear; and if he does, his fear is as the fear of enemies and not sons: not that this fear is displeasing to God; for it is such an one as may arrive at goodness, and produce the

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fear of sons, if it be rightly managed. No fear is displeasing to God, whether it be fear of punishment, or fear to offend; but the effects of fear distinguish the man, and are to be entertained or rejected accordingly: this topic carried on to the end.

PART III.

Concerning the excess of fear, not directly and abstractedly, as it is a passion, but as it is subjected in religion, and as it degenerates into superstition (δεισιδαιμονία), or fear of God, as if he were a tyrant.

But this fear was by some of the old philosophers themselves thought unreasonable in all cases, even towards God himself; and it was a branch of the Epicurean doctrine, that God meddled not with human affairs, and was to be loved and admired, but not feared; and therefore they taught men not to fear death, nor future punishment, nor any displeasure of God, &c.

But besides this, there was another part of its definition: "the superstitious man is also an idolater, one that is afraid of something besides God." The Latins, following the Greeks, had the same conception of this, and by their word *superstitio* understood the "worship of demons." What they meant by this explained. Fear is most commonly the principle, always an ingredient of superstition. This sin is reducible to two heads: 1. superstition of an undue object; 2. superstition of an undue expression to a right object.

Superstition of an undue object is that which the etymologist calls "the worshipping of idols:" the Scripture adds, 'a sacrificing to demons.' It is not however necessary to dilate on this topic, since no Christians are blameable therein, except the Church of Rome, in the worship of images, angels, saints, &c.

But as it is superstition to worship any thing 'besides the Creator,' so is it to worship God otherwise than is decent, pro-

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portionable, or described. The atheist called all worship of God superstition; the Epicurean called all fear of God so, without condemning the worship of him: other wise men called all unreasonable fear and all inordinate worship superstition, but did not condemn all fear; but the Christian, besides this, calls every error of worship, in the manner or in the excess, by this name, and condemns it.

The three great actions of religion are, 'to worship God; to fear him; and to trust in him.' Hence, excess of fear, obliquity in trust, and errors in worship, are the three sorts of superstition. The first of these alone pertinent to the present discourse.

1. Fear is the duty we owe to God, as being the God of power and justice; the judge of heaven and earth, &c.; so great an enemy to sin, that he spared not his own son as a sacrifice for it. Fear is the great bridle of intemperance, the restraint of a dissolute spirit, the arrest of sin; it is the guard of a man under prosperity, and it gives a warning to those that are in the chambers of rejoicing, &c.

But so excellent a grace is soon abused in the best and most tender spirits: this shown. And fear, when inordinate, is neither a good counsellor nor a friend; for he who fears God as his enemy, is the most miserable person in the world: this enlarged on. Such persons do not believe noble things concerning God; do not think that he is ready to pardon his sinning servant; do not believe how much he delights in mercy, nor how wise he is to make abatement for our unavoidable infirmities: this topic enlarged on.

Moreover, he that is afraid of God cannot in that disposition love him at all; for what delight can there be in that religion which draws us to the temple as victims to be sacrificed?

But that the evil may be proportionable to the folly, there is

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no man more miserable in the world than he who fears God as his enemy, and religion as a snare. Whither shall such a man go? where shall he lay down his burthen, or find sanctuary? This subject dilated on.

Almost all ages of the world have observed many instances of fond persuasions and foolish practices proceeding from violent fears and scruples in matter of religion. Examples of this folly among the ancient Pagans quoted. Similar ones among the Roman Catholic Christians, and the ancient Jews.

To this may be reduced the observation of dreams and fears from the fancies of the night; for the superstitious man does not rest even whilst he sleeps: this topic enlarged on.

2. But besides this superstitious fear, there is another fear directly criminal: this is called worldly fear, of which the Spirit of God hath said, *but the fearful and incredulous shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death:* that is, such fears as make men to fall in the time of persecution, who dare not own their faith in the face of a tyrant: this topic dilated on.

3. This fear is also criminal, if it be troublesome from an apprehension of the mountains and difficulties of duty, and is called pusillanimity. For some persons see themselves encompassed with temptations; they observe their frequent falls, and perpetual returns from good purposes to weak performances, &c.; and because they despair to run through the whole of their duty, think it as good not to begin at all, as to lose their labor after so much trouble and expense: this topic enlarged on.

Thus far concerning good fear and bad, that is, filial and servile: they are both good, if by servile we intend initial, or the beginning fear of penitents; but servile fear is vicious, when it retains the affection of slaves.

But to the former sort of virtuous fear, some also add another, which they call angelical; that is, such a fear as the blessed

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angels have, who before God hide their faces, and *fall down before his footstool*, &c.

This is the same that is spoken of in the text; or rather all holy fear partakes of the nature of that which divines call angelical: this topic carried on to the end.

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SERMON III.

OF GODLY FEAR, &c.

HEBREWS, CHAP. XII.—VERSE 28-29.

Let us have grace, whereby we may serve God with reverence and godly fear. For our God is a consuming fire.

PART I.

ΈΧΩΜΕΝ τὴν χάριν, so our Testaments usually read it, from the authority of Theophylact; 'Let us have grace:' but some copies read in the indicative mood ἔχομεν, 'We have grace, by which we do serve;' and it is something better consonant to the discourse of the Apostle. For having enumerated the great advantages which the Gospel hath above those of the law, he makes an argument *a majori*, and answers a tacit objection. The law was delivered by angels, but the gospel by the Son of God: the law was delivered from Mount Sinai, the gospel from Mount Sion, from 'the heavenly Jerusalem:' the law was given with terrors and noises, with amazements of the standers-by; and Moses himself, 'the minister, did exceedingly quake and fear,' and gave demonstration how infinitely dangerous it was by breaking that law to provoke so mighty a God, who with his voice did shake the earth; but the gospel was given by a meek Prince, a gentle Saviour, with a still voice, scarce heard in the streets. But that this may be no objection, he proceeds and declares the terror of the Lord: 'Deceive not yourselves; our lawgiver appeared so on earth, and was so truly, but now he is ascended into heaven, and from thence he speaks to us.' 'See that ye refuse not him

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that speaketh; for if they escaped not, who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven;'* for as God once shook the earth, and that was full of terror, so our lawgiver shall do, and much more, and be far more terrible, Ἔτι ἅπαξ ἐγὼ σείσω τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὴν ξηράν, said the prophet Haggai, which the Apostle quotes here, he once shook the earth. But 'once more I shake;' σείσω, it is in the prophecy, 'I *will* shake, not the earth only, but also heaven;'† with a greater terror than was on Mount Sinai, with the voice of an archangel, with the trump of God, with a concussion so great, that heaven and earth shall be shaken in pieces, and new ones come in their room. This is an unspeakable and an unimaginable terror: Mount Sinai was shaken, but it stands to this day; but when that shaking shall be, 'the things that are shaken, shall be no more, that those things that cannot be shaken may remain:' that is, not only that the celestial Jerusalem may remain for ever, but that you, who do not turn away from the faith and obedience of the Lord Jesus, you, who cannot be shaken nor removed from your duty, you may remain for ever; that when the rocks rend, and the mountains fly in pieces like the drops of a broken cloud, and the heavens shall melt, and the sun shall be a globe of consuming fire, and the moon shall be dark like an extinguished candle, then you poor men, who could be made to tremble with an ague, or shake by the violence of a northern wind, or be removed from your dwellings by the unjust decree of a persecutor, or be thrown from your estates by the violence of an unjust man, yet could not be removed from your duty, and though you went trembling, yet would go to death for the testimony of a holy cause, and you that would die for your faith, would also live according to it; you shall be established by the power of God, and supported by the arm of your Lord, and shall in all this great shaking be unmovable; as the corner-stone of the gates of the New Jerusalem, you shall remain and abide for ever. This is your case. And, to sum up the whole force of the argument, the Apostle adds the words of Moses: as it was then, so it is

* Heb. xii. 25. † ii. 6.

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true now, 'Our God is a consuming fire:'* he was so to them that brake the law, but he will be much more to them that disobey his Son; he made great changes then, but those which remain are far greater, and his terrors are infinitely more intolerable; and therefore, although he came not in the spirit of Elias, but with meekness and gentle insinuations, soft as the breath of heaven, not willing to disturb the softest stalk of a violet, yet his second coming shall be with terrors such as shall amaze all the world, and dissolve it into ruin and a chaos. This truth is of so great efficacy to make us do our duty, that now we are sufficiently enabled with this consideration. This is the grace which we have to enable us, this terror will produce fear, and fear will produce obedience, and 'we therefore have grace,' that is, we have such a motive to make us reverence God and fear to offend him, that he that dares continue in sin, and refuses to hear him that speaks to us from heaven, and from thence shall come with terrors, this man despises the grace of God, he is a graceless, fearless, impudent man, and he shall find that true *in hypothesi*, and in his own ruin, which the Apostle declares *in thesi*, and by way of caution, and provisionary terror, 'Our God is a consuming fire;' this is the sense and design of the text.

Reverence and godly fear, they are the effects of this consideration, they are the duties of every Christian, they are the graces of God. I shall not press them only to purposes of awfulness and modesty of opinion, and prayers, against those strange doctrines, which some have introduced into religion, to the destruction of all manners and prudent apprehensions of the distances of God and man; such as are the doctrine of necessity of familiarity with God, and a civil friendship, and a parity of estate, and an evenness of adoption; from whence proceed rudeness in prayer, flat and indecent expressions, affected rudeness, superstitious sitting at the holy sacrament, making it to be a part of religion to be without fear and reverence; the stating of the question is a sufficient reproof of this folly; whatsoever actions are brought into religion without 'reverence and godly fear,' are therefore to be avoided, because they are con-

* Deut. iv. 24.

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demned in this advice of the Apostle, and are destructive of those effects which are to be imprinted on our spirits by the terrors of the day of judgment. But this fear and reverence the Apostle intends should be a deletery to all sin whatsoever: φοβερὸν, ὀληθρίον· φόβος, φυγή· says the Etymologicum: "Whatsoever is terrible, is destructive of that thing for which it is so:" and if we fear the evil effects of sin, let us fly from it: we ought to fear its alluring face too; let us be so afraid, that we may not dare to refuse to hear him whose throne is heaven, whose voice is thunder, whose tribunal is clouds, whose seat is the right hand of God, whose word is with power; whose law is given with mighty demonstration of the Spirit, who shall reward with heaven and joys eternal, and who punishes his rebels, that will not have him to reign over them, with brimstone and fire, with a worm that never dies, and a fire that never is quenched; let us fear him who is terrible in his judgments, just in his dispensation, secret in his providence, severe in his demands, gracious in his assistances, bountiful in his gifts, and is never wanting to us in what we need; and if all this be not argument strong enough to produce fear, and that fear great enough to secure obedience, all arguments are useless, all discourses are vain, the grace of God is ineffective, and we are dull as the dead sea, inactive as a rock; and we shall never dwell with God in any sense, but as 'he is a consuming fire,' that is, dwell in everlasting burnings.

Αἰδὼς καὶ εὐλάβεια, reverence and caution, modesty and fear, μετὰ εὐλαβείας καὶ δέους, so it is in some copies, with caution and fear; or if we render εὐλάβεια to be 'fear of punishment,' as is generally understood by interpreters of this place, and is in Hesychius εὐλαβεῖσθαι, φυλάττεσθαι, φοβεῖσθαι, then the expression is the same in both words, and it is all one with the other places of Scripture, 'Work out your salvation with fear and trembling,' degrees of the same duty; and they signify all those actions and graces, which are the proper effluxes of fear; such as are reverence, prudence, caution and diligence, chastity and a sober spirit: εὐλάβεια, σεμνότης, so also say the grammarians; and it means plainly this; since our God will appear so terrible at his second coming, 'let us pass the time of sojourning here in

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fear,'* that is, modestly, without too great confidence of ourselves: soberly, without bold crimes, which when a man acts, he must put on shamelessness; reverently towards God, as fearing to offend him; diligently observing his commandments, inquiring after his will, trembling at his voice, attending to his word, reverencing his judgments, fearing to provoke him to anger; for 'it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.' Thus far it is a duty.

Concerning which, that I may proceed orderly, I shall first consider how far fear is a duty of Christian religion. 2. Who and what states of men ought to fear, and on what reasons. 3. What is the excess of fear, or the obliquity and irregularity whereby it becomes dangerous, penal, and criminal; a state of evil, and not a state of duty.

1. Fear is taken sometimes in Holy Scripture for the whole duty of man, for his whole religion towards God. 'And now, Israel, what doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to fear the Lord thy God?'†—fear is obedience, and fear is love, and fear is humility, because it is the parent of all these, and is taken for the whole duty to which it is an introduction. 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, and a good understanding have all they that do thereafter; the praise of it endureth for ever;'‡ and, 'Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man:'§ and thus it is also used in the New Testament: 'Let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.'‖

2. Fear is sometimes taken for worship: for so our blessed Saviour expounds the words of Moses in Mat. iv. 10. taken from Deut. x. 20. 'Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God,' so Moses; 'Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve,' said our blessed Saviour; and so it was used by the prophet Jonah; 'I am a Hebrew, and I fear the Lord the God of heaven,'¶ that is, I worship him; he is the Deity that I adore, that is, my worship and my religion; and because

* 1 Pet. i. 17. † Deut. x. 12. ‡ Psal. cxi. 10.
§ Eccles. xii. 13. ‖ 2 Cor. vii. 1. ¶ Jonah i. 9.

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the new colony of Assyrians did not do so, at the beginning of their dwelling there, 'they feared not the Lord,' that is, they worshipped other gods, and not the God of Israel, 'therefore God sent lions among them, which slew many of them.'* Thus far fear is not a distinct duty, but a word signifying something besides itself; and therefore cannot come into the consideration of this text. Therefore, 3. Fear, as it is a religious passion, is divided as the two Testaments are; and relates to the old and new covenant, and accordingly hath its distinction. In the law, God used his people like servants; in the gospel, he hath made us to be sons. In the law he enjoined many things, hard, intricate, various, painful, and expensive; in the gospel, he gave commandments, not hard, but full of pleasure, necessary and profitable to our life, and well-being of single persons and communities of men. In the law he hath exacted those many precepts by the covenant of exact measures, grains, and scruples; in the gospel he makes abatement for human infirmities, temptations, moral necessities, mistakes, errors, for every thing that is pitiable, for every thing that is not malicious and voluntary. In the law there are many threatenings, and but few promises, the promise of temporal prosperities branched into single instances; in the gospel there are but few threatenings, and many promises: and when God by Moses gave the ten commandments, only one of them was sent out with a promise, the precept of obedience to all our parents and superiors; but when Christ in his first sermon recommended eight duties,† Christian duties, to the college of disciples, every one of them begins with a blessing and ends with a promise, and therefore *grace* is opposed to the *law*.‡ So that, on these differing interests, the world put on the affections of servants and sons: they of old feared God as a severe Lord, much in his commands, abundant in threatenings, angry in his executions, terrible in his name, in his majesty and appearance dreadful unto death; and this the Apostle calls πνεῦμα δουλείας, 'the spirit of bondage,' or of a servant. But we have not received that Spirit, εἰς φόβον, 'unto fear,' not a servile fear, 'but the Spirit of adoption,' and

* 2 Kings xvii. 25. † Matt. v. ad v. 10.
‡ John i. 17. Rom. vi. 14. 15.

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filial fear we must have;* God treats us like sons, he keeps us under discipline, but designs us to the inheritance: and his government is paternal, his disciplines are merciful, his conduct gentle, his Son is our Brother, and our Brother is our Lord, and our Judge is our Advocate, and our Priest hath felt our infirmities, and therefore knows how to pity them, and he is our Lord, and therefore he can relieve them: and from hence we have affections of sons; so that a fear we must not have, and yet a fear we must have; and by these proportions we understand the difference: *Malo vereri quàm timeri me à meis*, said one in the comedy, "I had rather be reverenced than feared by my children." The English doth not well express the difference, but the Apostle doth it rarely well. For that which he calls πνεῦμα δουλείας in Rom. viii. 15. he calls πνεῦμα δειλίας, 2 Tim. i. 7. The spirit of bondage is the spirit of timorousness, or fearfulness, rather than fear; when we are fearful that God will use us harshly; or when we think of the accidents that happen, worse than the things are, when they are proportioned by measures of eternity; and from this opinion conceive forced resolutions and unwilling obedience. Χείρονς δὲ ὅσοι οὐ δι' αἰδῶ, ἀλλὰ διὰ φόβον αὐτὸ δρῶσι, καὶ φεύγοντες οὐ τὸ αἰσχρὸν, ἀλλὰ τὸ λυπηρὸν, said Aristotle; "Good men are guided by reverence, not by fear; and they avoid not that which is afflictive, but that which is dishonest:" they are not so good whose rule is otherwise. But that we may take more exact measures, I shall describe the proportions of Christian or godly fear by the following propositions.

1. Godly fear is ever without despair; because Christian fear is an instrument of duty, and that duty without hope can never go forward. For what should that man do, who, like Nausiclides, οὔτε ἔαρ, οὔτε φίλους ἔχει, 'hath neither spring nor harvest,' friends nor children, rewards nor hopes? A man will very hardly be brought to deny his own pleasing appetite, when for so doing he cannot hope to have recompense; when the mind of a man is between hope and fear, it is intent on its work; *At postquam adempta spes est, lassus, curâ confectus, stupet*, "If you take away the hope, the mind is weary, spent with

* Rom. viii. 15.

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care, hindered by amazements:" *Aut aliquem sumpserimus temeraria in Deos desperatione*, saith Arnobius; "A despair of mercy makes men to despise God;" and the damned in hell, when they shall for ever be without hope, are also without fear; their hope is turned into despair, and their fear into blasphemy, and they curse the fountain of blessing, and revile God to eternal ages. When Dionysius the tyrant imposed intolerable tributes on his Sicilian subjects, it amazed them, and they petitioned and cried for help and flattered him, and feared and obeyed him carefully; but he imposed still new ones and greater, and at last left them poor as the valleys of Vesuvius, or the top of Ætna; but then, all being gone, the people grew idle and careless, and walked in the markets and public places, cursing the tyrant, and bitterly scoffing his person and vices; which when Dionysius heard, he caused his publicans and committees to withdraw their impost: for "now (says he) they are dangerous, because they are desperate," *νῦν γὰρ, ὅτε οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν, καταφρονοῦσιν ἡμῶν.* When men have nothing left, they will despise their rulers: and so it is in religion; *Audaces cogimur esse metu.* If our fears be unreasonable, our diligence is none at all: and from whom we hope for nothing, neither benefit nor indemnity, we despise his command, and break his yoke, and trample it under our most miserable feet: and therefore Æschylus calls these people *θερμοὺς*, 'hot,' mad, and furious, careless of what they do, and he opposes them to pious and holy people. Let your confidence be allayed with fear, and your fear be sharpened with the intertextures of a holy hope, and the active powers of our souls are furnished with feet and wings, with eyes and hands, with consideration and diligence, with reason and encouragements: but despair is part of the punishment that is in hell, and the devils still do evil things, because they never hope to receive a good, nor find a pardon.

2. Godly fear must always be with honorable opinion of God,—without disparagements of his mercies, without quarrellings at the intrigues of his providence, or the rough ways of his justice; and therefore it must be ever relative to ourselves and our own failings and imperfections.

Θαρσεῖτ· οὔπω Ζεὺς αὐχένα λοξὸν ἔχει·

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"God never walks perversely towards us, unless we walk crookedly towards him:" and therefore persons,—that only consider the greatness and power of God, and dwell for ever in the meditation of those severe executions which are transmitted to us by story, or we observe by accident and conversation,—are apt to be jealous concerning God, and fear him as an enemy, or as children fear fire, or women thunder, only because it can hurt them: *Sæpius illud cogitant, quid possit is, cujus in ditione sunt, quam quid debeat facere;* (Cicero pro Quinctio:) "They remember oftener what God can do, than what he will;" being more affrighted at his judgments, than delighted with his mercy. Such as were the Lacedæmonians, whenever they saw a man grow popular, or wise, or beloved, and by consequence powerful, they turned him out of the country: and because they were afraid of the power of Ismenias, and knew that Pelopidas and Pherenicius and Androclydes could hurt them if they listed, they banished them from Sparta, but they let Epaminondas alone, *ὡς διὰ μὲν φιλοσοφίαν ἀπράγμονα, διὰ δὲ πενίαν ἀδύνατον,* "as being studious and inactive, and poor, and therefore harmless:" it is harder when men use God thus, and fear him as the great justiciary of the world; who sits in heaven, and observes all we do, and cannot want excuse to punish all mankind. But this caution I have now inserted for their sakes, whose schools and pulpits raise doctrinal fears concerning God; which, if they were true, the greatest part of mankind would be tempted to think they have reason not to love God; and all the other part that have not apprehended a reason to hate him, would have very much reason to suspect his severity and their own condition. Such are they which say, that God hath decreed the greatest part of mankind to eternal damnation; and that only to declare his severity, and to manifest his glory by a triumph in our torments, and rejoicings in the gnashings of our teeth. And they also fear God unreasonably, and speak no good things concerning his name, who say that God commands us to observe laws which are impossible; that think he will condemn innocent persons for errors of judgment, which they cannot avoid; that condemn whole nations for different opinions, which they are pleased to call heresy; that think God will exact the duties of

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a man by the measures of an angel, or will not make abatement for all our pitiable infirmities. The precepts of this caution are, that we remember God's mercies to be over all his works, that is, that he shows mercy to all his creatures that need it; that God delights to have his mercy magnified in all things, and by all persons, and at all times, and will not suffer his greatest honor to be most of all undervalued; and therefore as he that would accuse God of injustice were a blasphemer, so he that suspects his mercy dishonors God as much, and produces in himself that fear which is the parent of trouble, but no instrument of duty.

3. Godly fear is operative, diligent, and instrumental to caution and strict walking:—for so fear is the mother of holy living; and the Apostle urges it by way of upbraiding: 'What! do we provoke God to anger? Are we stronger than he?'* meaning, that if we be not strong enough to struggle with a fever, if our voices cannot outroar thunder, if we cannot check the ebbing and flowing of the sea, if we cannot add one cubit to our stature, how shall we escape the mighty hand of God? And here, heighten our apprehensions of the divine power, of his justice and severity, of the fierceness of his anger and the sharpness of his sword, the heaviness of his hand and the swiftness of his arrows, as much as ever you can; provided the effect pass on no farther but to make us reverent and obedient: but that fear is unreasonable, servile, and unchristian, that ends in boudage and servile affections, scruple and trouble, vanity and incredulity, superstition and desperation: its proper bounds are 'humble and devout prayers,' and 'a strict and holy piety' according to his laws, and 'glorifications of God,' or speaking good things of his holy name; and then it cannot be amiss: we must be full of confidence towards God, we must with cheerfulness rely on God's goodness for the issue of our souls, and our final interests; but this expectation of the divine mercy must be in the ways of piety: 'Commit yourselves to God in well-doing as unto a faithful Creator.'† Alcibiades was too timorous; who being called from banishment refused to return, and being asked if he durst not trust his country, answered,

* 1 Cor. x. 22. † 1 Pet. iv. 19.

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Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα, περὶ δὲ ψυχῆς τῆς ἐμῆς οὐδὲ τῇ μητρί· μήπως ἀγνοήσασα, τὴν μέλαιναν ἀντὶ τῆς λευκῆς ἐπενέγκῃ ψῆφον, "In every thing else, but in the question of his life he would not trust his mother, lest ignorantly she should mistake the black bean for the white, and intending a favor should do him a mischief." We must, we may most safely, trust God with our souls; the stake is great, but the venture is none at all: for he is our Creator, and he is faithful; he is our Redeemer, and he bought them at a dear rate; he is our Lord, and they are his own; he prays for them to his heavenly Father, and therefore he is an interested person. So that he is a party, and an advocate, and a judge too; and therefore there can be no greater security in the world on God's part: and this is our hope and our confidence: but because we are but earthen vessels under a law, and assaulted by enemies, and endangered by temptations; therefore it concerns us to fear lest we make God our enemy, and a party against us. And this brings me to the next part of the consideration; who and what states of men ought to fear, and for what reasons? For as the former cautions did limit, so this will encourage; those did direct, but this will exercise our godly fear.

1. I shall not here insist on the general reasons of fear, which concern every man, though it be most certain that every one hath cause to fear, even the most confident and holy, because his way is dangerous and narrow, troublesome and uneven, full of ambushes and pitfalls; and I remember what Polynices said in the* tragedy, when he was unjustly thrown from his father's kingdom, and refused to treat of peace but with a sword in his hand, Ἅπαντα γὰρ τολμῶσι δεινὰ φαίνεται, Ὅταν δι' ἐχθρᾶς ποὺς ἀμείβηται χθονός·* "Every step is a danger for a valiant man, when he walks in his enemy's country;" and so it is with us: we are espied by God and observed by angels; we are betrayed within, and assaulted without: the Devil is our enemy, and we are fond of his mischiefs; he is crafty, and we love to be abused; he is malicious, and we are credulous; he is powerful, and we are weak; he is too ready of himself, and yet we desire to be tempted; the world is alluring, and we consider not its

* Apud Eurip. in Phœnissis.

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vanity; sin puts on all pleasures, and yet we take it, though it puts us to pain: in short, we are vain, and credulous, and sensual, and trifling; we are tempted, and tempt ourselves, and we sin frequently, and contract evil habits, and they become second natures, and bring in a second death miserable and eternal: every man hath need to fear, because every man hath weakness, and enemies, and temptations, and dangers, and causes, of his own. But I shall only instance in some peculiar sorts of men, who, it may be, least think of it, and therefore have most cause to fear.

First, are those of whom the Apostle speaks, 'Let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.'* Ἐν ξυνῷ ἰχθύι ἄκανθαι οὐκ ἔνεισιν (ὥς φησιν ὁ Δημόκριτος,) said the Greek proverb: "In ordinary fish we shall never meet with thorns, and spiny prickles:" and in persons of ordinary even course of life, we find in it too often, that they have no checks of conscience, or sharp reflexions on their condition; they fall into no horrid crimes, and they think all is peace round about them. But you must know, that as grace is the improvement and bettering of nature, and Christian graces are the perfections of moral habits, and are but new circumstances, formalities, and degrees; so it grows in natural measures by supernatural aids, and it hath its degrees, its strengths and weaknesses, its promotions and arrests, its stations and declensions, its direct sicknesses and indispositions: and there is a state of grace that is next to sin; it inclines to evil and dwells with a temptation; its acts are imperfect, and the man is within the kingdom, but he lives in its borders, and is *dubiæ jurisdictionis.* These men have cause to fear; these men seem to stand, but they reel indeed, and decline towards danger and death. 'Let these men (saith the Apostle) take heed lest they fall,' for they shake already; such are persons, whom the Scriptures call 'weak in faith.' I do not mean new beginners in religion, but such who have dwelt long in its confines, and yet never enter into the heart of the country; such whose faith is tempted, whose piety does not grow; such who yield a little; people that do all that they can lawfully do, and study how much is lawful, that they

* 1 Cor. x. 12.

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may lose nothing of a temporal interest; people that will not be martyrs in any degree, and yet have good affections; and love the cause of religion, and yet will suffer nothing for it: these are such which the Apostle speaks, δοκοῦσιν ἱστάναι, 'they think they stand,' and so they do on one leg, that is, so long as they are untempted; but when the tempter comes, then they fall and bemoan themselves, that by losing peace they lost their inheritance. There are a great many sorts of such persons: some, when they are full, are content, and rejoice in God's providence; but murmur and are amazed, when they fall into poverty. They are chaste, so long as they are within the protection of marriage, but when they return to liberty, they fall into bondage, and complain they cannot help it. They are temperate and sober, if you let them alone at home; but call them abroad, and they will lose their sober thoughts, as Dinah did her honor, by going into new company. These men in these estates think they stand, but God knows they are soon weary, and stand stiff as a cane, which the heat of the Syrian star or the flames of the sun cannot bend; but one sigh of a northern wind shakes them into the tremblings of a palsy: in this the best advice is, that such persons should watch their own infirmities, and see on which side they are most open, and by what enemies they use to fall, and to fly from such parties, as they would avoid death. But certainly they have great cause to fear, who are sure to be sick when the weather changes; or can no longer retain their possession, but till an enemy please to take it away; or will preserve their honor, but till some smiling temptation ask them to forego it.

2. They also have great reason to fear, whose repentance is broke into fragments, and is never a whole or intire change of life: I mean those that resolve against a sin, and pray against it, and hate it in all the resolutions of their understanding, till that unlucky period comes, in which they use to act it; but then they sin as certainly as they will infallibly repent it, when they have done: there are a very great many Christians, who are esteemed of the better sort of penitents, yet feel this feverish repentance to be their best state of health; they fall certainly in the returns of the same circumstances, or at a certain distance of time; but, God knows, they do not get the victory

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over their sin, but are within its power. For this is certain, they who sin and repent, and sin again in the same or like circumstances, are in some degree under the power and dominion of sin; when their action can be reduced to an order or a method, to a rule or a certainty, that oftener hits than fails, that sin is habitual; though it be the least habit, yet a habit it is; every course, or order, or method of sin, every constant or periodical return, every return that can be regularly observed, or which a man can foresee, or probably foretell, even then when he does not intend it, but prays against it, every such sin is to be reckoned, not for a single action, or on the accounts of a pardonable infirmity, but it is a combination, an evil state, such a thing as the man ought to fear concerning himself, lest he be surprised and called from this world, before this evil state be altered: for if he be, his securities are but slender, and his hopes will deceive him. It was a severe doctrine that was maintained by some great clerks and holy men in the primitive church, "That repentance was to be but once after baptism:" 'One faith, one Lord, one baptism, one repentance;'* all these the Scripture saith; and it is true, if by repentance we mean the intire change of our condition; for he that returns willingly to the state of an unbelieving, or heathen, profane person, intirely and choosingly, in defiance of, and apostasy from, his religion, cannot be renewed again; as the Apostle twice affirms in his Epistle to the Hebrews. But then, concerning this state of apostasy, when it happened in the case, not of faith, but of charity and obedience, there were many fears and jealousies: they were, therefore, very severe in their doctrines, lest men should fall into so evil a condition; they enlarged their fear, that they might be stricter in their duty; and generally this they did believe, that every second repentance was worse than the first, and the third worse than the second, and still as the sin returned, the Spirit of God did the less love to inhabit; and if he were provoked too often, would so withdraw his aids and comfortable cohabitation, that the church had little comfort in such children; so said Clemens Alexandr. Stromat. 2. Αἱ δὲ συνεχεῖς καὶ ἐπάλληλαι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι με-

* Heb. vi. 6. x. 26. 2 Pet. ii. 22.

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τάνοιαι, οὐδὲν τῶν καθάπαξ μὴ πεπιστευκότων διαφέρουσιν· "Those frequent and alternate repentances, that is, repentances and sinnings interchangeably, differ not from the conditions of men that are not within the covenant of grace, from them that are not believers," ἢ μόνῳ τῷ συναισθέσθαι ὅτι ἁμαρτάνουσι, "save only (says he) that these men perceive that they sin;" they do it, more against their conscience than infidels and unbelievers; and therefore they do it with less honesty and excuse, καὶ οὐκ οἶδ' ὁπότερον αὐτοῖς χεῖρον, ἢ τὸ εἰδότα ἁμαρτάνειν, ἢ μετανοήσαντα, ἐφ' οἷς ἥμαρτον, πλημμελεῖν αὖθις· "I know not which is worse, either to sin knowingly or willingly; or to repent of our sin, and sin it over again." And the same severe doctrine is delivered by Theodoret in his twelfth book against the Greeks, and is hugely agreeable to the discipline of the primitive church: and it is a truth of so great severity, that it ought to quicken the repentance, and sour the gaieties, of easy people, and make them fear: whose repentance is, therefore, ineffectual, because it is not integral or united, but broken in pieces by the intervention of new crimes: so that the repentance is every time to begin anew; and then let it be considered, what growth that repentance can make, that is never above a week old, that is for ever in its infancy, that is still in its birth, that never gets the dominion over sin. These men, I say, ought to fear lest God reject their persons, and deride the folly of their new-begun repentances, and at last be weary of giving them more opportunities, since they approve all, and make use of none; their understanding is right, and their will a slave; their reason is for God, and their affections for sin; these men (as the Apostle's expression is) 'walk not as wise, but as fools:' for we deride the folly of those men, that resolve on the same thing a thousand times, and never keep one of those resolutions. These men are vain and light, easy and effeminate, childish and abused; these are they of whom our blessed Saviour said those sad decretory words, 'Many shall seek to enter in, and shall not be able.'

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SERMON III.

PART II.

THEY have great reason to fear, whose sins are not yet remitted; for they are within the dominion of sin, within the kingdom of darkness, and the regions of fear: light makes us confident; and sin checks the spirit of a man into pusillanimity and cowardice of a girl or a conscious boy; and they do their work in the days of peace and wealthy fortune, and come to pay their symbol in a war or in a plague; then they spend of their treasure of wrath, which they laid up in their vessels of dishonor: and, indeed, want of fear brought them to it; for if they had known how to have accounted concerning the changes of mortality, if they could have reckoned right concerning God's judgments falling on sinners, and remembered that themselves are no more to God than that brother of theirs that died in a drunken surfeit, or was killed in a rebel war, or was, before his grave, corrupted by the shames of lust; if they could have told the minutes of their life, and passed on towards their grave at least in religious and sober thoughts, and considered that there must come a time for them to die, and 'after death comes judgment,' a fearful and intolerable judgment,—it would not have come to this pass, in which their present condition of affairs does amaze them, and their sin hath made them liable unto death, and that death is the beginning of an eternal evil. In this case it is natural to fear; and if men consider their condition, and know that all the felicity, and all the security they can have, depends on God's mercy pardoning their sins,—they cannot choose but fear infinitely, if they have not reason to hope that their sins are pardoned. Now concerning this, men indeed have generally taken a course to put this affair to a very speedy issue. 'God is merciful,' and 'God forgive me,' and all is done: it may be a few sighs, like the deep sobbings of a man that is almost dead with laughter, that is, a trifling sorrow, returning on a man after he is full of sin, and hath pleased himself with violence, and revolving only by

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a natural change from sin to sorrow, from laughter to a groan, from sunshine to a cloudy day; or, it may be, the good man hath left some one sin quite, or some degrees of all sin, and then the conclusion is firm, he is *rectus in curia*, his sins are pardoned, he was indeed in an evil condition, but 'now he is purged,' he 'is sanctified' and clean. These things are very bad: but it is much worse that men should continue in their sin, and grow old in it, and arrive at confirmation, and the strength of habitual wickedness, and grow fond of it; and yet think, if they die, their account stands as fair in the eyes of God's mercy, as St. Peter's after his tears and sorrow. Our sins are not pardoned easily and quickly; and the longer and the greater hath been the iniquity, the harder and more difficult and uncertain is the pardon; it is a great progress to return from all the degrees of death to life, to motion, to quickness, to purity, to acceptation, to grace, to contention, and growth in grace, to perseverance, and so to pardon: for pardon stands no where, but at the gates of heaven. It is a great mercy, that signifies a final and universal acquittance. God sends it out in little scrolls, and excuses you from falling by the sword of an enemy, or the secret stroke of an angel in the days of the plague; but these are but little entertainments and enticings of our hopes to work on towards the great pardon, which is registered in the leaves of the book of life. And it is a mighty folly to think that every little line of mercy signifies glory and absolution from the eternal wrath of God; and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that wicked men are unwilling to die; it is a greater wonder that many of them die with so little resentment of their danger and their evil. There is reason for them to tremble, when the judge summons them to appear. When his messenger is clothed with horror, and speaks in thunder; when their conscience is their accuser, and their accusation is great, and their bills uncancelled, and they have no title to the cross of Christ, no advocate, no excuse; when God is their enemy, and Christ is the injured person, and the Spirit is grieved, and sickness and death come to plead God's cause against the man; then there is reason, that the natural fears of death should be high and pungent, and those natural fears increased by the reasonable and certain expectations of

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that anger, which God hath laid up in heaven for ever, to consume and destroy his enemies.

And, indeed, if we consider on how trifling and inconsiderable grounds most men hope for pardon (if at least that may be called hope, which is nothing but a careless boldness, and an unreasonable wilful confidence), we shall see much cause to pity very many, who are going merrily to a sad and intolerable death. Pardon of sins is a mercy, which Christ purchased with his dearest blood, which he ministers to us on conditions of an infinite kindness, but yet of great holiness and obedience, and an active living faith; it is a grace, that the most holy persons beg of God with mighty passion, and labor for with a great diligence, and expect with trembling fears, and concerning it many times suffer sadnesses with uncertain souls, and receive it by degrees, and it enters on them by little portions, and it is broken as their sighs and sleeps. But so have I seen the returning sea enter on the strand; and the waters, rolling towards the shore, throw up little portions of the tide, and retire as if nature meant to play, and not to change the abode of waters; but still the flood crept by little steppings, and invaded more by his progressions than he lost by his retreat: and having told the number of its steps, it possesses its new portion till the angel calls it back, that it may leave its unfaithful dwelling of the sand: so is the pardon of our sins; it comes by slow motions, and first quits a present death, and turns, it may be, into a sharp sickness; and if that sickness prove not health to the soul, it washes off, and it may be, will dash against the rock again, and proceed to take off the several instances of anger and the periods of wrath, but all this while it is uncertain concerning our final interest, whether it be ebb or flood: and every hearty prayer, and every bountiful alms still enlarges the pardon, or adds a degree of probability and hope; and then a drunken meeting, or a covetous desire, or an act of lust, or looser swearing, idle talk, or neglect of religion, makes the pardon retire; and while it is disputed between Christ and Christ's enemy who shall be Lord, the pardon fluctuates like the wave, striving to climb the rock, and is washed off like its own retinue, and it gets possession by time and uncertainty, by difficulty and the degrees of a hard progression. When David,

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had sinned but in one instance, interrupting the course of a holy life by one sad calamity, it pleased God to pardon him; but see on what hard terms: he prayed long and violently, he wept sore, he was humbled in sackcloth and ashes, he ate the bread of affliction and drank his bottle of tears; he lost his princely spirit, and had an amazed conscience; he suffered the wrath of God, and the sword never did depart from his house: his son rebelled, and his kingdom revolted; he fled on foot, and maintained spies against his child; he was forced to send an army against him that was dearer than his own eyes, and to fight against him whom he would not hurt for all the riches of Syria and Egypt; his concubines were defiled by an incestuous mixture, in the face of the sun, before all Israel; and his child, that was the fruit of sin, after a seven days' fever, died, and left him nothing of his sin to show, but sorrow, and the scourges of the Divine vengeance; and, after all this, God pardoned him finally, because he was for ever sorrowful, and never did the sin again. He that hath sinned a thousand times for David's once, is too confident, if he thinks that all this shall be pardoned at a less rate than was used to expiate that one mischief of the religious king: 'the Son of David' died for his father David, as well as he did for us; he was 'the Lamb slain from the beginning of the world;' and yet that death, and that relation, and all the heap of the divine favors, which crowned David with a circle richer than the royal diadem, could not exempt him from the portion of sinners, when he descended into their pollutions. I pray God we may find the 'sure mercies of David,' and may have our portion in the redemption wrought by the 'Son of David;' but we are to expect it on such terms as are revealed, such which include time, and labor, and uncertainty, and watchfulness, and fear, and holy living. But it is a sad observation, that the case of pardon of sins is so administered, that they that are most sure of it have the greatest fears concerning it; and they, to whom it doth not belong at all, are as confident as children and fools, who believe every thing they have a mind to, not because they have reason so to do, but because without it they are presently miserable. The godly and holy persons of the church 'work out their salvation with fear and trembling;' and the wicked go to destruction,

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with gaiety and confidence: these men think all is well, while they are 'in the gall of bitterness;' and good men are tossed in a tempest, crying and praying for a safe conduct; and the sighs of their fears, and the wind of their prayers, waft them safely to their port. Pardon of sins is not easily obtained; because they who only certainly can receive it, find difficulty, and danger, and fears, in the obtaining it; and therefore their case is pitiable and deplorable, who, when they have least reason to expect pardon, yet are most confident and careless.

But because there are sorrows on one side, and dangers on the other, and temptations on both sides, it will concern all sorts of men to know when their sins are pardoned. For then, when they can perceive their signs certain and evident, they may rest in their expectations of the divine mercies; when they cannot see the signs, they may leave their confidence, and change it into repentance, and watchfulness, and stricter observation; and, in order to this, I shall tell you that which shall never fail you; a certain sign that you may know whether or no, and when, and in what degree, your persons are pardoned.

1. I shall not consider the evils of sin by any metaphysical and abstracted effects, but by sensible, real, and material. He that revenges himself of another, does something that will make his enemy grieve, something that shall displease the offender as much as sin did the offended; and therefore all the evils of sin are such as relate to us, and are to be estimated by our apprehensions. Sin makes God angry; and God's anger, if it be not turned aside, will make us miserable and accursed; and therefore in proportion to this we are to reckon the proportion of God's mercy in forgiveness, or his anger in retaining.

2. Sin hath obliged us to suffer many evils, even whatsoever the anger of God is pleased to inflict; sickness and dishonor, poverty and shame, a caitiff spirit and a guilty conscience, famine and war, plague and pestilence, sudden death and a short life, temporal death or death eternal, according as God in the several covenants of the law and gospel hath expressed.

3. For in the law of Moses, sin bound them to nothing but temporal evils, but they were sore, and heavy, and many; but

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these only there were threatened:' in the gospel Christ added the menaces of evils spiritual and eternal,

4. The great evil of the Jews was their abscission and cutting off from being God's people, to which eternal damnation answers amongst us; and as sickness, and war, and other intermedial evils, were lesser strokes, in order to the final anger of God against their nation; so are these and spiritual evils intermedial, in order to the eternal destruction of sinning and unrepenting Christians.

5. When God had visited any of the sinners of Israel with a grievous sickness, then they lay under the evil of their sin, and were not pardoned till God took away the sickness; but the taking the evil away, the evil of the punishment, was the pardon of the sin; 'to pardon the sin is to spare the sinner:' and this appears; for when Christ had said to the man sick of the palsy, 'Son, thy sins are forgiven thee,'* the pharisees accused him of blasphemy, because none had power to forgive sins but God only; Christ, to vindicate himself, gives them an ocular demonstration, and proves his words: 'That ye may know, the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins, he saith to the man sick of the palsy, Arise, and walk;' then he pardoned the sin, when he took away the sickness, and proved the power by reducing it to act: for if pardon of sins be any thing else, it must be easier or harder: if it be easier, then sin hath not so much evil in it as a sickness, which no religion as yet ever taught: if it be harder, then Christ's power to do that which was harder, could not be proved by doing that which was easier. It remains, therefore, that it is the same thing to take the punishment away, as to procure or give the pardon; because, as the retaining the sin was an obligation to the evil of punishment, so the remitting the sin is the disobliging to its penalty. So far then the case is manifest.

6. The next step is this; that, although in the gospel God punishes sinners with temporal judgments, and sicknesses, and deaths, with sad accidents, and evil angels, and messengers of wrath; yet, besides these lesser strokes, he hath scorpions to

* Matt. ix. 2.

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chastise, and loads of worse evils to oppress the disobedient: he punishes one sin with another, vile acts with evil habits, these with a hard heart, and this with obstinacy, and obstinacy with impenitence, and impenitence with damnation. Now, because the worst of evils, which are threatened to us, are such which consign to hell by persevering in sin, as God takes off our love and our affections, our relations and bondage under sin, just in the same degree he pardons us; because the punishment of sin being taken off and pardoned, there can remain no guilt. Guiltiness is an insignificant word, if there be no obligation to punishment. Since therefore spiritual evils, and progressions in sin, and the spirit of reprobation, and impenitence, and accursed habits, and perseverance in iniquity, are the worst of evils; when these are taken off, the sin hath lost its venom, and appendant curse: for sin passes on to eternal death only by the line of impenitence, and it can never carry us to hell, if we repent timely and effectually; in the same degree, therefore, that any man leaves his sin, just in the same degree he is pardoned, and he is sure of it: for although curing the temporal evil was the pardon of sins among the Jews, yet we must reckon our pardon by curing the spiritual. If I have sinned against God in the shameful crime of lust, then God hath pardoned my sins, when, on my repentance and prayers, he hath given me the grace of chastity. My drunkenness is forgiven when I have acquired the grace of temperance, and a sober spirit. My covetousness shall no more be a damning sin, when I have a loving and charitable spirit; loving to do good, and despising the world: for every farther degree of sin being a nearer step to hell, and by consequence the worst punishment of sin, it follows inevitably, that according as we are put into a contrary state, so are our degrees of pardon, and the worst punishment is already taken off. And therefore, we shall find that the great blessing, and pardon, and redemption, which Christ wrought for us, is called 'sanctification,' 'holiness,' and 'turning us away from our sins:' so St. Peter; 'Ye know that you were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation;'* that is your redemption,

* 1 Pet. i. 18.

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that is your deliverance: you were taken from your sinful state; that was the state of death, this of life and pardon; and therefore they are made *synonyma* by the same Apostle; 'According as his Divine power hath given us all things that pertain to life and godliness:'* 'to live' and 'to be godly' is all one; to remain in sin and abide in death is all one; to redeem us from sin is to snatch us from hell; he that gives us godliness, gives us life, and that supposes the pardon, or the abolition of the rites of eternal death: and this was the conclusion of St. Peter's sermon, and the sum total of our redemption and of our pardon; 'God having raised up his Son, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from your iniquity;'† this is the end of Christ's passion and bitter death, the purpose of all his and all our preaching, the effect of baptism, purging, washing, sanctifying; the work of the sacrament of the Lord's supper; and the same body that was broken, and the same blood that was shed for our redemption, is to conform us into his image and likeness of living and dying, of doing and suffering. The case is plain: just as we leave our sins, so God's wrath shall be taken from us; as we get the graces contrary to our former vices, so infallibly we are consigned to pardon. If therefore you are in contestation against sin, while you dwell in difficulty, and sometimes yield to sin, and sometimes overcome it, your pardon is uncertain, and is not discernible in its progress; but when sin is mortified, and your lusts are dead, and under the power of grace, and you are 'led by the Spirit,' all your fears concerning your state of pardon are causeless, and afflictive without reason; but so long as you live at the old rate of lust or intemperance, of covetousness or vanity, of tyranny or oppression, of carelessness or irreligion, flatter not yourselves; you have no more reason to hope for pardon than a beggar for a crown, or a condemned criminal to be made heir-apparent to that prince, whom he would traitorously have slain.

They have great reason to fear concerning their condition, who having been in the state of grace, who having begun to lead a good life, and given their names to God by solemn deli-

* 2 Pet. i. 3. † Acts iii. 26.

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berate acts of will and understanding, and made some progress in the way of godliness, if they shall retire to folly, and unravel all their holy vows, and commit those evils, from which they formerly ran as from a fire or inundation; their case hath in it so many evils, that they have great reason to fear the anger of God, and concerning the final issue of their souls. For, return to folly hath in it many evils beyond the common state of sin and death; and such evils, which are most contrary to the hopes of pardon. 1. He that falls back into those sins he hath repented of, does 'grieve the Holy Spirit of God, by which he was sealed to the day of redemption.' For so the antithesis is plain and obvious: if 'at the conversion of a sinner there is joy before the beatified spirits, the angels of God,' and that is the consummation of our pardon and our consignation to felicity, then we may imagine how great an evil it is to 'grieve the Spirit of God,' who is greater than the angels. The children of Israel were carefully warned that they should not offend the angel: 'Behold, I send an angel before thee, beware of him, and obey his voice; provoke him not, for he will not pardon your transgressions,'* that is, he will not spare to punish you if you grieve him: much greater is the evil, if we grieve him who sits on the throne of God, who is the Prince of all the spirits: and besides, grieving the Spirit of God is an affection that is contrary to his felicity, as lust is to his holiness; both which are essential to him. *Tristitia enim omnium spirituum nequissima est, et pessima servis Dei, et omnium spiritus exterminat, et cruciat Spiritum sanctum*, said Hermas: "Sadness is the greatest enemy to God's servants: if you grieve God's Spirit, you cast him out;" for he cannot dwell with sorrow and grieving; unless it be such a sorrow, which by the way of virtue passes on to joy and never-ceasing felicity. Now by grieving the Holy Spirit, is meant those things which displease him, doing unkindness to him; and then the grief, which cannot in proper sense seize on him, will in certain effects return on us: *Ita enim dico* (said Seneca); *sacer intra nos Spiritus sedet, bonorum malorumque nostrorum observator et custos; hic prout à nobis tractatus est, ita nos ipse tractat:* "There is a

* Exod. xxiii. 20. 21.

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Holy Spirit dwells in every good man, who is the observer and guardian of all our actions; and as we treat him, so will he treat us." Now we ought to treat him sweetly and tenderly, thankfully and with observation: *Deus præcepit, Spiritum Sanctum, utpote pro naturæ suæ bono tenerum et delicatum, tranquillitate, et lenitate, et quiete, et pace tractare,* said Tertullian *de Spectaculis.* The Spirit of God is a loving and kind Spirit, gentle and easy, chaste and pure, righteous and peaceable; and when he hath done so much for us as to wash us from our impurities, and to cleanse us from our stains, and straighten our obliquities, and to instruct our ignorances, and to snatch us from an intolerable death, and to consign us to the day of redemption, that is, to the resurrection of our bodies from death, corruption, and the dishonors of the grave, and to appease all the storms and uneasiness, and to 'make us free as the sons of God,' and furnished with the riches of the kingdom; and all this with innumerable arts, with difficulty, and in despite of our lusts and reluctances, with parts and interrupted steps, with waitings and expectations, with watchfulness and stratagems, with inspirations and collateral assistances; after all this grace, and bounty, and diligence, that we should despite this grace, and trample on the blessings, and scorn to receive life at so great an expense, and love of God; this is so great a baseness and unworthiness, that by troubling the tenderest passions, it turns into the most bitter hostilities; by abusing God's love it turns into jealousy, and rage, and indignation. 'Go and sin no more, lest a worse thing happen to thee.'

2. Falling away after we have begun to live well is a great cause of fear; because there is added to it the circumstance of inexcusableness. The man hath been taught the secrets of the kingdom, and therefore his understanding hath been instructed; he hath tasted the pleasures of the kingdom, and therefore his will hath been sufficiently entertained. He was entered into the state of life, and renounced the ways of death: his sin began to be pardoned, and his lusts to be crucified; he felt the pleasures of victory, and the blessings of peace, and therefore fell away, not only against his reason, but also against his interest; and to such a person the questions of his soul have been so perfectly stated, and his prejudices and inevitable abuses so clearly

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taken off, and he was so made to view the paths of life and death, that if he chooses the way of sin again, it must be, not by weakness, or the infelicity of his breeding, or the weakness of his understanding, but a direct preference or prelation, a preferring sin before grace, the spirit of lust before the purities of the soul, the madness of drunkenness before the fulness of the Spirit, money before our friend, and above our religion, and heaven, and God himself. This man is not to be pitied on pretence that he is betrayed; or to be relieved, because he is oppressed with potent enemies; or to be pardoned, because he could not help it: for he once did help it, he did overcome his temptation, and choose God, and delight in virtue, and was an heir of heaven, and was a conqueror over sin, and delivered from death; and he may do so still, and God's grace is on him more plentifully, and the lust does not tempt so strongly; and if it did, he hath more power to resist it; and therefore, if this man falls, it is because he wilfully chooses death, it is the portion that he loves and descends into with willing and unpitied steps. *Quam vilis facta es, nimis iterans vias tuas!* said God to Judah.*

3. He that returns from virtue to his old vices, is forced to do violence to his own reason, to make his conscience quiet: he does it so unreasonably, so against all his fair inducements, so against his reputation, and the principles of his society, so against his honor, and his promises, and his former discourses and his doctrines, his censuring of men for the same crimes, and the bitter invectives and reproofs which in the days of his health and reason he used against his erring brethren, that he is now constrained to answer his own arguments, he is entangled in his own discourses, he is ashamed with his former conversation; and it will be remembered against him how severely he reproved, and how reasonably he chastised the lust, which now he runs to in despite of himself and all his friends. And because this is his condition, he hath no way left him, but either to be impudent, which is hard for him at first; it being too big a natural change to pass suddenly from grace to immodest circum-

* Jer. ii. 36.

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stances and hardnesses of face and heart: or else, therefore, he must entertain new principles, and apply his mind to believe a lie; and then begins to argue, "There is no necessity of being so severe in my life; greater sinners than I have been saved; God's mercies are greater than all the sins of man; Christ died for us, and if I may not be allowed to sin this sin, what ease have I by his death? or, this sin is necessary, and I cannot avoid it; or, it is questionable whether this sin be of so deep a dye as is pretended; or, flesh and blood is always with me, and I cannot shake it off; or, there are some sects of Christians that do allow it, or, if they do not, yet they declare it easily pardonable, on no hard terms, and very reconcilable with the hopes of heaven; or, the Scriptures are not rightly understood in their pretended condemnation; or else other men do as bad as this, and there is not one in ten thousand but hath his private retirements from virtue; or else, when I am old, this sin will leave me, and God is very pitiful to mankind."—But while the man, like an entangled bird, flutters in the net, and wholly discomposes that which should support him, and that which holds him, the net and his own wings, that is, the laws of God and his own conscience and persuasion, he is resolved to do the thing, and seeks excuses afterward; and when he hath found out a fig-leaved apron that he could put on, or a cover for his eyes, that he may not see his own deformity, then he fortifies his error with irresolution and inconsideration: and he believes it, because he will; and he will, because it serves his turn: then he is entered on his state of fear; and if he does not fear concerning himself, yet his condition is fearful, and the man hath νοῦν ἀδόκιμον, 'a reprobate mind,' that is, a judgment corrupted by lust: vice hath abused his reasoning, and if God proceeds in the man's method, and lets him alone in his course, and gives him over to believe a lie, so that he shall call good evil, and evil good, and come to be heartily persuaded that his excuses are reasonable, and his pretences fair,—then the man is desperately undone 'through the ignorance that is in him,' as St. Paul describes his condition; 'his heart is blind, he is past feeling, his understanding is darkened;' then he may 'walk in the vanity of his mind,' and 'give himself over to las-

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civiousness,' and shall 'work all uncleanness with greediness;'* then he needs no greater misery: this is the state of evil, which his fear ought to have prevented, but now it is past fear, and is to be recovered with sorrow, or else to be run through, till death and hell are become his portion; *fiunt novissima illius pejora prioribus;* 'His latter end is worse than his beginning.'†

Besides all this, it might easily be added, that he that falls from virtue to vice again, adds the circumstance of ingratitude to his load of sins; he sins against God's mercy, and puts out his own eyes, he strives to unlearn what with labor he hath purchased, and despises the trouble of his holy days, and throws away the reward of virtue for an interest which himself despised the first day in which he began to take sober counsels; he throws himself back in the accounts of eternity, and slides to the bottom of the hill, from whence with sweat and labor of his hands and knees he had long been creeping: he descends from the spirit to the flesh, from honor to dishonor, from wise principles to unthrifty practices; like one of 'the vainer fellows,' who grows a fool, and a prodigal, and a beggar, because he delights in inconsideration, in the madness of drunkenness, and the quiet of a lazy and unprofitable life. So that this man hath great cause to fear; and if he does, his fear is as the fear of enemies and not sons: I do not say that it is a fear that is displeasing to God; but it is such a one as may arrive at goodness, and the fear of sons, if it be rightly managed.

For we must know that no fear is displeasing to God; no fear of itself, whether it be fear of punishment or fear to offend; the 'fear of servants,' or the 'fear of sons;' but the effects of fear do distinguish the man, and are to be entertained or rejected accordingly. If a servile fear makes us to remove our sins, and so passes us towards our pardon, and the receiving such graces which may endear our duty and oblige our affection; that fear is imperfect but not criminal; it is 'the beginning of wisdom,' and the first introduction to it; but if that fear sits still, or rests in a servile mind, or a hatred to God, or speaking

* Ephes. iv. 17. 18. † Matt. xii. 45. Vide 2 Pet. ii. 20.

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evil things concerning him, or unwillingness to do our duty, that which at first was indifferent, or at the worst imperfect, proves miserable and malicious; so we do our duty, it is no matter on what principles we do it: it is no matter where we begin, so from that beginning we pass on to duties and perfection. If we fear God as an enemy, an enemy of our sins, and of our persons for their sakes, as yet this fear is but a servile fear; it cannot be a filial fear, since we ourselves are not sons; but if this servile fear makes us to desire to be reconciled to God, that he may no longer stay at enmity with us, from this fear we shall soon pass to carefulness, from carefulness to love, from love to diligence, from diligence to perfection; and the enemies shall become servants, and the servants shall become adopted sons, and pass into the society and the participation of the inheritance of Jesus: for this fear is also reverence, and then our God, instead of being 'a consuming fire,' shall become to us the circle of a glorious crown, and a globe of eternal light.

SERMON III.

PART III.

I AM now to give account concerning the excess of fear, not directly and abstractedly, as it is a passion, but as it is subjected in religion, and degenerates into superstition: for so among the Greeks, fear is the ingredient and half of the constitution of that folly; Δεισιδαιμονία, φοβήθεια, said Hesychius, "it is a fear of God." Δεισιδαίμων, δειλὸς, that is more; it is a timorousness: "the superstitious man is afraid of the gods," (said the etymologist) δεδιὼς τοὺς θεοὺς ὥσπερ τοὺς τυράννους, "fearing of God, as if he were a tyrant," and an unreasonable exacter of duty on unequal terms, and disproportionable, impossible degrees, and unreasonable, and great and little instances.

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But this fear some of the old philosophers thought unreasonable in all cases, even towards God himself; and it was a branch of the Epicurean doctrine, that God meddled not with any thing below, and was to be loved and admired, but not feared at all; and therefore they taught men neither to fear death, nor to fear punishment after death, nor any displeasure of God: *His terroribus ab Epicuro soluti non metuimus Deos*, said Cicero;* and thence came this acceptation of the word, that superstition should signify an unreasonable fear of God; it is true he and all his scholars extended the case beyond the measure, and made all fear unreasonable; but then if we, on grounds of reason and divine revelation, shall better discern the measure of the fear of God; whatsoever fear we find to be unreasonable, we may by the same reason call it superstition, and reckon it criminal, as they did all fear; that it may be called superstition, their authority is sufficient warrant for the grammar of the appellative; and that it is criminal, we shall derive from better principles.

But besides this there was another part of its definition, Δεισιδαίμων, ὁ τὰ εἴδωλα σέβων· εἰδωλολάτρης, "The superstitious man is also an idolater," δειλὸν παρὰ θεοὺς, "and that is afraid of something besides God." The Latins, according to their custom, imitating the Greeks in all their learned notices of things, had also the same conception of this, and by their word *superstitio* understood "the worship of demons," or separate spirits; by which they meant either their *minores Deos*, or else their ἡρῶας ἀποθεωθέντας, "their braver personages, whose souls were supposed to live after death;" the fault of this was the object of their religion: they gave a worship or a fear to whom it was not due; for whenever they worshipped the great God of heaven and earth, they never called that superstition in an evil sense, except the Ἄθεοι, "they that believed there was no God at all." Hence came the etymology of superstition: it was a worshipping or fearing the spirits of their dead heroes, *quos superstites credebant*, "whom they thought to be alive" after their ἀποθέωσις, or deification, *quos superstantes credebant*, "standing in places and thrones above us;"

* Lib. de Nat. Deorum.

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and it alludes to that admirable description of old age which Solomon made beyond all the rhetoric of the Greeks and Romans: 'Also they shall be afraid of that which is high, and fears shall be in the way;'* intimating the weakness of old persons, who, if ever they have been religious, are apt to be abused into superstition: they are 'afraid of that which is high;' that is, of spirits and separate souls of those excellent beings which dwell in the regions above; meaning that then they are superstitious. However, fear is most commonly its principle, always its ingredient. For if it enter first from credulity and a weak persuasion, yet it becomes incorporated into the spirit of the man, and thought necessary, and the action it persuades to dares not be omitted, for fear of evil themselves dream of: on this account the sin is reducible to two heads: the first is superstition of an undue object; the second, superstition of an undue expression to a right object.

Superstition of an undue object is that which the etymologist calls *τῶν εἰδώλων σέβασμα*, 'the worshipping of idols;' the Scripture adds *θύειν δαιμονίοις*, 'a sacrificing to demons'† in St. Paul, and in Baruch; where, although we usually read it 'sacrificing to devils,' yet it was but accidental that they were such; for those indeed were evil spirits who had seduced them, and tempted them to such ungodly rites (and yet they who were of the Pythagorean sect pretended a more holy worship, and did their devotion to angels); but whosoever shall worship angels, do the same thing; they worshipped them because they are good and powerful, as the Gentiles did the devils, whom they thought so; and the error which the Apostle reproves was not in matter of judgment, in mistaking bad angels for good, but in matter of manners and choice; they mistook the creature for the Creator; and therefore it is most fully expressed by St. Paul, in a general signification, 'they worshipped the creature,' *παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα*, 'beside the Creator;'‡ so it should be read; if we worship any creature besides God, worshipping so as the worship of him becomes a part of religion, it is also a direct superstition; but, concerning this part of superstition I shall not trouble this discourse, because I know no Christians blame-

* Eccles. xii. 5. † 1 Cor. x. 28. iv. 7. ‡ Rom. i. 25.

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able in this particular but the church of Rome, and they that communicate with her in the worshipping of images, of angels, and saints, burning lights and perfumes to them, making offerings, confidences, advocations and vows to them; and direct and solemn divine worshipping the symbols of bread and wine, when they are consecrated in the holy sacrament. These are direct superstition, as the word is used by all authors, profane and sacred, and are of such evil report, that wherever the word superstition does signify any thing criminal, these instances must come under the definition of it. They are *λατρεία τῆς κτήσεως*, *λατρεία παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα*, *cultus superstitum*, *cultus dæmonum*; and therefore, besides that they have *ἴδιον ἔλεγχον*, 'a proper reproof' in Christian religion, are condemned by all wise men which call superstition criminal.

But as it is superstition to worship any thing *παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα*, 'besides the Creator;' so it is superstition to worship God *παρὰ τὸ εὔσχημον*, *παρὰ τὸ πρέπον*, *παρ' ὃ δεῖ*, 'otherwise than is decent, proportionable, or described.' Every inordination of religion, that is not in defect, is properly called superstition: *ὁ μὲν εὐσεβὴς φίλος Θεῷ, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων κόλαξ Θεοῦ*, said Maximus Tyrius; "The true worshipper is a lover of God, the superstitious man loves him not, but flatters." To which if we add, that fear, unreasonable fear, is also superstition, and an ingredient in its definition, we are taught by this word to signify all irregularity and inordination in actions of religion. The sum is this: the atheist called all worship of God superstition; the Epicurean called all fear of God superstition, but did not condemn his worship; the other part of wise men called all unreasonable fear and inordinate worship superstition, but did not condemn all fear; but the Christian, besides this, calls every error in worship, in the manner, or excess, by this name, and condemns it.

Now because the three great actions of religion are, 'to worship God,' 'to fear God,' and 'to trust in him,' by the inordination of these three actions, we may reckon three sorts of this crime; 'the excess of fear,' and 'the obliquity in trust,' and 'the errors in worship,' are the three sorts of superstition; the first of which is only pertinent to our present consideration.

1. Fear is the duty we owe to God, as being the God of

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power and justice, the great Judge of heaven and earth, the avenger of the cause of widows, the patron of the poor, and the advocate of the oppressed, a mighty God and terrible; and so essential an enemy to sin, that he spared not his own Son, but gave him over to death, and to become a sacrifice, when he took on him our nature, and became a person obliged for our guilt. Fear is the great bridle of intemperance, the modesty of the spirit, and the restraint of gaieties and dissolutions; it is the girdle to the soul, and the handmaid to repentance; the arrest of sin, and the cure or antidote to the spirit of reprobation; it preserves our apprehensions of the Divine Majesty, and hinders our single actions from combining to sinful habits; it is the mother of consideration, and the nurse of sober counsels; and it puts the soul to fermentation and activity, making it to pass from trembling to caution, from caution to carefulness, and carefulness to watchfulness, from thence to prudence; and by the gates and progresses of repentance, it leads the soul on to love, and to felicity, and to joys in God, that shall never cease again. Fear is the guard of a man in the days of prosperity, and it stands on the watch-towers, and spies the approaching danger, and gives warning to them that laugh loud, and feast in the chambers of rejoicing, where a man cannot consider by reason of the noises of wine, and jest, and music: and if prudence takes it by the hand, and leads it on to duty, it is a state of grace, and a universal interest to infant religion, and the only security of the less perfect persons; and, in all senses, is that homage we owe to God, who sends often to demand it, even then, when he speaks in thunder, or smites by a plague, or awakens us by threatenings, or discomposes our easiness by sad thoughts, and tender eyes, and fearful hearts, and trembling considerations.

But this so excellent grace is soon abused in the best and most tender spirits; in those who are softened by nature and by religion, by infelicities or cares, by sudden accidents or a sad soul; and the devil observing that fear, like spare diet, starves the fever of lust, and quenches the flames of hell, endeavors to heighten this abstinence so much as to starve the man, and break the spirit into timorousness and scruple, sadness and unreasonable tremblings, credulity and trifling observation,

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suspicion and false accusations of God; and then vice being turned out at the gate, returns in at the postern, and does the work of hell and death by running too inconsiderately in the paths which seem to lead to heaven. But so have I seen a harmless dove made dark with an artificial night, and her eyes sealed and locked up with a little quill, soaring upward and flying with amazement, fear, and an undiscerning wing; she made towards heaven, but knew not that she was made a train and an instrument, to teach her enemy to prevail on her and all her defenceless kindred: so is a superstitious man; zealous and blind, forward and mistaken, he runs towards heaven as he thinks, but he chooses foolish paths; and out of fear takes any thing that he is told; or fancies and guesses concerning God by measures taken from his own diseases and imperfections. But fear, when it is inordinate, is never a good counsellor, nor makes a good friend; and he that fears God as his enemy, is the most completely miserable person in the world. For if he with reason believes God to be his enemy, then the man needs no other argument to prove that he is undone than this, that the fountain of blessing (in this state in which the man is) will never issue any thing on him but cursings. But if he fears this without reason, he makes his fears true by the very suspicion of God, doing him dishonor, and then doing those fond and trifling acts of jealousy, which will make God to be what the man feared he already was. We do not know God, if we can think any hard thing concerning him. If God be merciful, let us only fear to offend him; but then let us never be fearful that he will destroy us, when we are careful not to displease him. There are some persons so miserable and scrupulous, such perpetual tormentors of themselves with unnecessary fears, that their meat and drink is a snare to their consciences; if they eat, they fear they are gluttons; if they fast, they fear they are hypocrites; and if they would watch, they complain of sleep as of a deadly sin; and every temptation, though resisted, makes them cry for pardon; and every return of such an accident makes them think God is angry; and every anger of God will break them in pieces.

These persons do not believe noble things concerning God: they do not think that he is as ready to pardon them, as they

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are to pardon a sinning servant; they do not believe how much God delights in mercy, nor how wise he is to consider and to make abatement for our unavoidable infirmities; they make judgment of themselves by the measures of an angel, and take the account of God by the proportions of a tyrant. The best that can be said concerning such persons is that they are hugely tempted, or hugely ignorant. For although ignorance is by some persons named "the mother of devotion;" yet if it falls in a hard ground, it is the "mother of atheism;" if in a soft ground, it is the "parent of superstition:" but if it proceeds from evil or mean opinions of God (as such scruples and unreasonable fears do many times), it is an evil of a great impiety, and in some sense, if it were in equal degrees, is as bad as atheism: for so he that says there was no such man as Julius Cæsar, does him less displeasure than he that says there was, but that he was a tyrant, and a bloody parricide. And the Cimmerians were not esteemed impious for saying that there was no sun in the heavens; but Anaxagoras was esteemed irreligious for saying the sun was a very stone: and though to deny there is a God is a high impiety and intolerable, yet he says worse who, believing there is a God, says he delights in human sacrifices, in miseries, and death, in tormenting his servants, and punishing their very infelicities and unavoidable mischances. To be God, and to be essentially and infinitely good, is the same thing; and therefore to deny either is to be reckoned among the greatest crimes in the world.

Add to this, that he that is afraid of God cannot in that disposition love him at all: for what delight is there in that religion which draws me to the altar as if I were going to be sacrificed, or to the temple as to the dens of bears? *Oderunt quos metuunt, sed colunt tamen:* "Whom men fear they hate certainly, and flatter readily, and worship timorously;" and he that saw Hermolaus converse with Alexander, and Pausanias follow Philip the Macedonian, or Chæreas kissing the feet of Caius Caligula, would have observed how sordid men are made with fear, and how unhappy and how hated tyrants are in the midst of those acclamations which are loud, and forced, and unnatural, and without love or fair opinion. And therefore although the atheist says, 'There is no God,' the scrupu-

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lous, fearful, and superstitious man, does heartily wish what the other does believe.

But that the evil may be proportionable to the folly, and the punishment to the crime, there is no man more miserable in the world than the man who fears God as his enemy, and religion as a snare, and duty intolerable, and the commandments as impossible, and his Judge as implacable, and his anger as certain, insufferable, and unavoidable: whither shall this man go? where shall he lay his burden? where shall he take sanctuary? for he fears the altars as the places where his soul bleeds and dies; and God, who is his Saviour, he looks on as his enemy: and because he is Lord of all, the miserable man cannot change his service, unless it be apparently for a worse. And therefore, of all the evils of the mind, fear is certainly the worst and the most intolerable: levity and rashness have in them some sprightfulness, and greatness of action; anger is valiant; desire is busy and apt to hope; credulity is oftentimes entertained and pleased with images and appearances; but fear is dull, and sluggish, and treacherous, and flattering, and dissembling, and miserable, and foolish. Every false opinion concerning God is pernicious and dangerous: but if it be joined with trouble of spirit, as fear, scruple, and superstition are,—it is like a wound with an inflammation, or a strain of a sinew with a contusion or contrition of the part, painful and unsafe; it puts on two actions when itself is driven; it urges reason and circumscribes it, and makes it pitiable, and ridiculous in its consequent follies; which, if we consider it, will sufficiently reprove the folly, and declare the danger.

Almost all ages of the world have observed many instances of fond persuasions and foolish practices proceeding from violent fears and scruples in matter of religion. Diomedon and many other captains were condemned to die, because after a great naval victory they pursued the flying enemies, and did not first bury their dead. But Chabrias, in the same case, first buried the dead, and by that time the enemy rallied and returned, and his navy, and made his masters pay the price of their importune superstition: they feared where they should not, and where they did not, they should. From hence proceeds observation of signs and unlucky days; and the people did so when the Gregorian account began, continuing to call those un-

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lucky days which were so signified in their tradition or *erra pater*, although the day on this account fell ten days sooner; and men were transported with many other trifling contingencies and little accidents; which, when they are once entertained by weakness, prevail on their own strength, and in sad natures and weak spirits have produced effects of great danger and sorrow. Aristodemus, king of the Messenians, in his war against the Spartans, prevented the sword of the enemy by a violence done on himself, only because his dogs howled like wolves; and the soothsayers were afraid, because the briony grew up by the walls of his father's house: and Nicias, general of the Athenian forces, sat with his arms in his bosom, and suffered himself and forty thousand men tamely to fall by the insolent enemy, only because he was afraid of the laboring and eclipsed moon. When the marble statues in Rome did sweat (as naturally they did against all rainy weather), the augurs gave an alarm to the city; but if lightning struck the spire of the capitol, they thought the sum of affairs, and the commonwealth itself, was endangered. And this heathen folly hath stuck so close to the Christians, that all the sermons of the church for sixteen hundred years have not cured them all: but the practices of weaker people, and the artifice of ruling priests, have superinduced many new ones. When Pope Eugenius sang mass at Rheims, and some few drops from the chalice were spilt on the pavement, it was thought to foretell mischief, wars, and bloodshed to all Christendom, though it was nothing but carelessness and mischance of the priest; and because Thomas Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, sang the mass of requiem on the day he was reconciled to his prince, it was thought to foretell his own death by that religious office: and if men can listen to such whispers, and have not reason and observation enough to confute such trifles, they shall still be affrighted with the noise of birds, and every night-raven shall foretell evil as Micaiah to the king of Israel, and every old woman shall be a prophetess, and the events of human affairs, which should be managed by the conduct of counsel, of reason, and religion, shall succeed by chance, by the flight of birds, and the meeting of an evil eye, by the falling of the salt, or the decay of reason, of wisdom, and the just religion of a man.

To this may be reduced the observation of dreams, and fears

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commenced from the fancies of the night. For the superstitious man does not rest even when he sleeps; neither is he safe, because dreams usually are false, but he is afflicted for fear they should tell true. Living and waking men have one world in common, they use the same air and fire, and discourse by the same principles of logic and reason; but men that are asleep have every one a world to himself, and strange perceptions: and the superstitious hath none at all; his reason sleeps, and his fears are waking; and all his rest, and his very securities, to the fearful man turn into affrights and insecure expectation of evils that never shall happen; they make their rest uneasy and chargeable, and they still vex their weary soul, not considering there is no other sleep for sleep to rest in: and therefore if the sleep be troublesome, the man's cares be without remedy, till they be quite destroyed. Dreams follow the temper of the body, and commonly proceed from trouble or disease, business or care, an active head and a restless mind, from fear or hope, from wine or passion, from fulness or emptiness, from fantastic remembrances, or from some demon, good or bad: they are without rule and without reason, they are as contingent as if a man should study to make a prophecy, and by saying ten thousand things may hit on one true, which was therefore not foreknown, though it was forespoken; and they have no certainty, because they have no natural causality nor proportion to those effects, which many times they are said to foresignify. The dream of the yolk of an egg importeth gold (saith Artemidorus); and they that use to remember such fantastic idols, are afraid to lose a friend when they dream their teeth shake, when naturally it will rather signify a scurvy; for a natural indisposition and an imperfect sense of the beginning of a disease, may vex the fancy into a symbolical representation; for so the man that dreamed he swam against the stream of blood, had a pleurisy beginning in his side; and he that dreamt he dipped his foot into water, and that it was turned to a marble, was inticed into the fancy by a beginning dropsy; and if the events do answer in one instance, we become credulous in twenty. For want of reason we discourse ourselves into folly and weak observation, and give the devil power over us in those circumstances in which we can least resist him. Ἐν ὄρφνῃ δραπέτης

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μέγα σθένει, "A thief is confident in the twilight;"* if you suffer impressions to be made on you by dreams, the devil hath the reins in his own hands, and can tempt you by that which will abuse you, when you can make no resistance. Dominica, the wife of Valens the emperor, dreamed that God threatened to take away her only son for her despiteful usage of St. Basil: the fear proceeding from this instance was safe and fortunate; but if she had dreamed in the behalf of a heretic, she might have been cozened into a false proposition on a ground weaker than the discourse of a waking child. Let the grounds of our actions be noble, beginning on reason, proceeding with prudence, measured by the common lines of men, and confident on the expectation of a usual providence. Let us proceed from causes to effects, from natural means to ordinary events, and believe felicity not to be a chance but a choice: and evil to be the daughter of sin and the divine anger, not of fortune and fancy; let us fear God when we have made him angry, and not be afraid of him when we heartily and laboriously do our duty; our fears are to be measured by open revelation and certain experience, by the threatenings of God and the sayings of wise men, and their limit is reverence, and godliness is their end: and then fear shall be a duty, and a rare instrument of many: in all other cases it is superstition or folly, it is sin or punishment, the ivy of religion, and the misery of an honest and a weak heart; and is to be cured only by reason and good company, a wise guide and a plain rule, a cheerful spirit and a contented mind, by joy in God according to the commandments, that is, 'a rejoicing evermore.'

2. But besides this superstitious fear, there is another fear directly criminal, and it is called 'worldly fear,' of which the Spirit of God hath said, 'But the fearful and incredulous shall have their part in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death;'† that is, such fears, which make men to fall in the time of persecution, those that dare not own their faith in the face of a tyrant, or in despite of an accursed law. For though it be lawful to be afraid in a storm, yet it is not lawful to leap into the sea; though we may be more care-

* Eurip. Rhes. 69. † Rev. xxi. 8.

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ful for our fears, yet we must be faithful too; and we may fly from the persecution till it overtakes us: but when it does, we must not change our religion for our safety, or leave the robe of baptism in the hands of the tempter, and run away by all means. St. Athanasius for forty-six years did run and fight; he disputed with the Arians and fled from their officers; and he that flies may be a man worth preserving, if he bears his faith along with him, and leaves nothing of his duty behind. But when duty and life cannot stand together, he that then flies a persecution by delivering up his soul, is one that hath no charity, no love to God, no trust in promises, no just estimation of the rewards of a noble contention. 'Perfect love casts out fear' (saith the Apostle); that is, he that loves God, will not fear to die for him, or for his sake to be poor. In this sense no man can fear man and love God at the same time; and when St. Lawrence triumphed over Valerianus, St. Sebastian over Dioclesian, St. Vincentius over Dacianus, and the armies of martyrs over the proconsuls, accusers, and executioners, they showed their love to God by triumphing over fear, and 'leading captivity captive,' by the strength of their Captain, whose 'garments were red from Bozrah.'

3. But this fear is also tremulous and criminal, if it be a trouble from the apprehension of the mountains and difficulties of duty, and is called pusillanimity. For some see themselves encompassed with temptations, they observe their frequent falls, their perpetual returns from good purposes to weak performances, the daily mortifications that are necessary, the resisting natural appetites, and the laying violent hands on the desires of flesh and blood, the uneasiness of their spirits, and their hard labors, and therefore this makes them afraid; and because they despair to run through the whole duty, in all its parts and periods, they think it as good not to begin at all, as after labor and expense to lose the jewel and the charges of their venture. St. Augustine compares such men to children and fantastic persons, affrighted with phantasms and spectres; *terribiles visu formæ*, the sight seems full of horror; but touch them, and they are very nothing, the mere daughters of a sick brain and a weak heart, an infant experience and a trifling judgment: so are the illusions of a weak piety, or an unskilful confident soul: they

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fancy to see mountains of difficulty; but touch them, and they seem like clouds riding on the wings of the wind, and put on shapes as we please to dream. He that denies to give alms for fear of being poor, or to entertain a disciple for fear of being suspected of the party, or to own a duty for fear of being put to venture for a crown; he that takes part of the intemperance, because he dares not displease the company, or in any sense fears the fears of the world, and not the fear of God—this man enters into his portion of fear betimes, but it will not be finished to eternal ages. To fear the censures of men, when God is your judge; to fear their evil, when God is your defence; to fear death, when he is the entrance to life and felicity, is unreasonable and pernicious; but if you will turn your passion into duty, and joy, and security, fear to offend God, to enter voluntarily into temptation; fear the alluring face of lust, and the smooth entertainments of intemperance; fear the anger of God, when you have deserved it; and when you have recovered from the snare, then infinitely fear to return into that condition, in which whosoever dwells, is the heir of fear and eternal sorrow.

Thus far I have discoursed concerning good fear and bad, that is, filial and servile: they are both good, if by servile we intend initial, or the new beginning fear of penitents; a fear to offend God on less perfect considerations: but servile fear is vicious when it still retains the affection of slaves, and when its effects are hatred, weariness, displeasure, and want of charity: and of the same cognations are those fears which are superstitious and worldly.

But to the former sort of virtuous fear, some also add another, which they call angelical, that is, such a fear as the blessed angels have, who before God hide their faces, and tremble at his presence, and 'fall down before his footstool,' and are ministers of his anger and messengers of his mercy, and night and day worship him with the profoundest adoration. This is the same that is spoken of in the text: 'Let us serve God with reverence and godly fear;' all holy fear partakes of the nature of this which divines call angelical, and it is expressed in acts of adoration, of vows and holy prayers, in hymns and psalms, in the eucharist and reverential addresses;

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and while it proceeds in the usual measures of common duty, it is but human; but as it rises to great degrees, and to perfection, it is angelical and divine; and then it appertains to mystic theology, and therefore is to be considered in another place; but for the present that which will regularly concern all our duty is this, that when the fear of God is the instrument of our duty, or God's worship, the greater it is, it is so much the better. It is an old proverbial saying among the Romans, *Religentem esse, oportet; religiosum, nefas:* "Every excess in the actions of religion is criminal;" they supposing that in the services of their gods there might be too much. True it is, there may be too much of their undecent expressions; and in things indifferent, the very multitude is too much, and becomes an undecency: and if it be in its own nature undecent or disproportionable to the end, or the rules, or the analogy, of the religion, it will not stay for numbers to make it intolerable; but in the direct actions of glorifying God, in doing any thing of his commandments, or any thing which he commands, or counsels, or promises to reward, there can never be excess or superfluity: and therefore, in these cases, do as much as you can; take care that your expressions be prudent and safe, consisting with thy other duties; and for the passions or virtues themselves, let them pass from beginning to great progresses, from man to angel, from the imperfection of man to the perfections of the sons of God; and whenever we go beyond the bounds of nature, and grow up with all the extension, and in the very commensuration of a full grace, we shall never go beyond the excellences of God: for ornament may be too much, and turn to curiosity; cleanness may be changed into niceness; and civil compliance may become flattery; and mobility of tongue may rise into garrulity; and fame and honor may be great unto envy: and health itself, if it be athletic, may by its very excess become dangerous: but wisdom, and duty, and comeliness, and discipline, a good mind, and the fear of God, and doing honor to his holy name, can never exceed: but if they swell to great proportions, they pass through the measures of grace, and are united to felicity in the comprehensions of God, in the joys of an eternal glory.

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SUMMARY OF SERMON IV.

MATTHEW, CHAP. XXVI.—VERSE 41.

PART I.

FROM the beginning of days man hath been so cross to the divine commandments, that in many cases there can be no reason given, why a person should choose some ways, or do some actions, but only because they are forbidden. Instance of the Israelites and Canaanites. The whole life of man is a perpetual contradiction. Instance of the absurdity of man's will in refusing the injunction to be temperate; and the evils of intemperance dilated on. Whereas our body itself is but a servant to our soul, we strive to make it master, or heir of all things: hence proceed the vices of the worst, and the imperfections of the best men: the spirit is in slavery, and when the body is not strong to mischief, it is weak to goodness. Even to the Apostles themselves our Lord addressed the words of the text.

The spirit, or inward man, especially as helped by the Spirit of grace, *that* is willing; for it is the principle of all good actions: but the flesh is a dull instrument; so weak, that, in Scripture, to be *in the flesh* signifies a state of weakness and infirmity.

The old and the new man cannot dwell together; and therefore here, where the spirit inclining to good and holy counsels associates with the flesh, it means only a weak and unapt nature, or a state of infant grace: for in this only is the text verified. Four distinct heads of the following discourse enumerated.

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I. We are to consider the infirmities of the flesh naturally. Our nature is too weak for our duty and final interest; so that at first it cannot move one step towards God, unless God, by his preventing grace, puts into it a new capability. Primary object of man's creation. State of man after the fall. *By nature we are the sons of wrath*, that is, born heirs of death, which came on us through God's anger against sin. There is nothing in us that can bring us to felicity; nothing that can sanctify us; and so it is necessary that God should make us a new creation, if he means to save us: this enlarged on. And thus God does teach and invite us; lends us helps, and guides our hands and feet; constraining us, yet as reasonable beings: and as this is a great glorification of his free grace, so does it declare our manner of cooperation, and show the weakness, ignorance, and aversion of our nature from goodness: this enlarged on. Particulars instanced, in the temptations of pleasure and of pain, wherein the flesh will most certainly fall, unless assisted by a mighty grace.

1. In pleasure we see it by the public miseries and follies of the world. Instances given and dilated on, in the love of money; in carnal lust; and in drunkenness. "Men are so in love with pleasure that they cannot think of mortifying their appetites: we do violence to what we hate, not to what we love." Even amidst the glories of Christianity, there are so many persons covetous, intemperate, and lustful, even now when the Spirit of God is given to render us liberal, temperate, and chaste, that we may well imagine, since all men have flesh, and all men have not the Spirit, that the flesh is the parent of sin and death.

2. And it is no otherwise when we are tempted with pain. So impatient are we of pain, that nothing can reconcile us to it; not the laws of God, the necessities of nature, the interests of virtue, or the hopes of heaven: we will submit to pain on no terms, but the basest; for if sin brings us to pain, we choose

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that, so it be in the retinue of a lust or a base desire: but we accuse God, and murmur, if pain be sent to us from him who ought to send it, and who intends it as a mercy: sad instance of human infirmity, in one of the forty martyrs of Cappadocia. Infirmity of the flesh in time of sickness dilated on. In these considerations we find our nature under great disadvantages; but it is no better in any thing else; it is weak in all its actions and passions: this enlarged on.

To sum up all the evils that can be spoken of the infirmities of the flesh, the proper nature and habitudes of men are so foolish and impotent, so peevish and averse to all good, that a man's will is of itself only free to choose evils: so that it is scarcely a contradiction to mention liberty, and yet suppose it determined to one object only: because that object is the thing we choose: this topic enlarged on. Till we are newly created, we are, as it were, wolves and serpents; free and delighted in the choice of evil, but stones and iron to all excellent things and purposes.

II. Second general consideration: weakness of the flesh in the beginning even of the state of grace.

1. In some dispositions that are forward, busy, and unquiet, when the grace of God has begun to take possession of them, it seems to their undiscerning spirits so pleasant to be delivered from the sottishness of lust, and the follies of intemperance, that, reflecting on the change, they begin to love themselves too well, and despise those who are below them: having mortified corporal vices, they keep the spiritual: for this our Saviour censured the Pharisees.

2. Sometimes the passions of the flesh spoil the changes of the spirit, by natural excesses, &c.: it mingles violence with industry, fury with zeal, uncharitableness with reproof, censure with discipline, &c.: this topic enlarged on.

3. In the first changes and progresses of our spiritual life, we find a weakness on us, because we are long before we be-

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gin, and the flesh is powerful, and its habits strong, and it will mingle indirect pretences with all the actions of the spirit: this illustrated.

4. Some men are wise and know their weaknesses, and make strong resolutions, &c. and what then? This shows that *the spirit is willing;* but the storm arises, and the winds blow, and the rain descends, and presently the whole fabric is thrown into disorder and ruin.

5. But some, when they have felt their follies, back their resolutions with vows, to fortify the spirit: but a vow will not secure our duty, because it is not stronger than our appetites.

6. Moreover, some choose excellent guides, and stand within their restraints; the young adopting that of modesty, the more aged that of reputation; the more noble that of honor, and all that of conscience. These shown to be weak defences; from the inclosure of which our nature is apt to break loose.

7. When the spirit is made willing by the grace of God, the flesh interposes in deceptions and false principles. If you tempt a man openly to some notorious sin, he steadily refuses: but if you put it civilly to him, and disguise it with little excuses and fair pretences, &c., the spirit instantly yields.

8. The flesh is so mingled with the spirit, that we are forced to make distinctions in our appetite, to reconcile our affections to God and religion, lest it be impossible to do our duty: we weep for our sins, but we weep more for the death of our dearest friends, or other temporal evils: we had rather die than lose our faith, and yet we do not live according to it, &c.

9. The spirit is abated and interrupted by the flesh, because the flesh pretends that it is not able to do those ministries which are appointed in order to religion: it is not able to fast, to watch, to exercise charity, to suffer pain, &c.: here the flesh betrays its weakness, for it complains too soon; and the spirit of some men, like Adam who was too fond of his wife, attends to all its murmurs and temptations. Yet the flesh is well able

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to endure much more than is required of it in its usual duties: this shown.

The foregoing complaints are not without cause. The remedies of the evil next to be considered. Concluding exhortations.

PART II.

III. Third general consideration: inquiry into the remedies of this mischief, if it be possible to cure an evil nature.

In order to this it is considered, 1. that since it is our flesh and blood that is the principle of mischief, we must not think to have it cured by washings and light medicaments, &c. but we must have a new nature put into us, which must be the principle of new counsels, and better purposes, of holy actions and great devotion; and this nature is derived from God, is a grace and favor of heaven: this topic enlarged on. 2. Our life and all our discourses, observations, reason, &c., are too little to cure a peevish spirit, silly principles, bad habits, and perverse affections: art and use, experience and reason, may be something, but cannot do enough: there must be something else, and this is the Spirit of grace: therefore the proper cure is to be wrought by those general means of inviting and cherishing God's holy Spirit, &c.

1. The first great instrument of changing our nature into the state of grace, and flesh into the spirit, is a firm belief in, a perfect assent to, and a hearty entertainment of the promises of the gospel: for holy Scripture speaks great words concerning faith: this topic enlarged on and illustrated.

2. The second great remedy of our evil nature is devotion, or a state of prayer and intercourse with God: for the gift of his spirit is properly and expressly promised to prayer. (Luke xi. 13. &c.) The pleasures of this holy communion with God dilated on, and contrasted with the feverish, vain, and transient pleasures of the world.

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3. As this cure is to be wrought by the spirit of God, we must endeavor to abstain from those things which by a special malignity are directly opposite to the spirit of reason, and the spirit of grace; from drunkenness and lust: evils and dangers of these defiling sins descanted on.

4. We must also avoid all flatterers and evil company: flattery does but bribe an evil nature, and corrupt a good one.

5. He that would cure his evil nature, must attend diligently to subdue his *chief lust;* which when he has overcome, the lesser enemies will more readily yield.

6. In all actions of choice he should deliberate and consider, that he may never do that for which he must ask a pardon, or suffer smart and shame.

7. In all the contingencies of chance and varieties of action, we must remember that we are the makers of our own fortune, and of our own sin: we must not charge God with it, nor consider the violence of our passions as any superinduced necessity from him.

8. We must avoid all delay in the counsels of religion; since every day of indulgence increases the evil.

9. We must learn to despise the world, or rather learn truly to understand it. Our nature is a disease, and the world nourishes it; but if we omit such unwholesome diet, our nature will revert to its first purities, and to the entertainment of God's grace.

IV. Fourth general consideration;—how far the infirmities of the flesh can be innocent, and consist with the spirit of grace; for all these counsels are to be entertained by a willing and active spirit, &c.

1. If the flesh then hinders us in our duty, it is our enemy; and our misery is, not that the flesh is weak, but that it is too strong. 2. When it abates the degrees of duty and stops its growth, or prevents its passing on to action and effect, then it

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is weak, but not directly nor always criminal. But to speak particularly,

1. If our flesh hinders us in any thing that is a direct duty, and prevails on the spirit to make it do an evil action, or contract an evil habit, the man is in a state of bondage to sin; his flesh is the mother of corruption and an enemy to God. Nothing which God exacts from us is made impossible to us: the willing is the doing; and he who says he is willing to do his duty, but cannot, does not understand what he says, &c.

2. If the spirit and the heart be willing, it will pass on to outward actions in all things, where it ought or can.

3. With regard to those things which are not in our power, those in which the flesh is inculpably weak, or naturally or politically disabled, the will does the work of the outward, as well as of the inner man: this explained.

4. No man however is to be esteemed of a willing spirit, but he who endeavors to do the outward work, or to make all the supplies he can. And as our desires are great, and our spirits willing, so shall we find ways to supply our want of utility and express liberality, &c.

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SERMON IV.

THE FLESH AND THE SPIRIT.

MATTHEW, CHAP. XXVI.—VERSE 41.

The spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak.

PART I.

FROM the beginning of days man hath been so cross to the Divine commandments, that in many cases there can be no reason given, why a man should choose some ways, or do some actions, but only because they are forbidden. When God bade the Israelites rise and go up against the Canaanites and possess the land, they would not stir; the men were Anakims, and the cities were impregnable; and there was a lion in the way: but, presently after, when God forbade them to go, they would and did go, though they died for it. I shall not need to instance in particulars, when the whole life of man is a perpetual contradiction; and the state of disobedience is called the 'contradictions of sinners;' even the man in the gospel, that had two sons, they both crossed him, even he that obeyed him, and he that obeyed him not: for the one said he would, and did not; the other said he would not, and did; and so do we: we promise fair, and do nothing; and they that do best, are such as come out of darkness into light, such as said 'they would not,' and at last have better bethought themselves. And who can guess at any other reason, why men should refuse to be temperate? For he that refuseth the commandment first does violence to the commandment, and puts on a preternatural ap-

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petite; he spoils his health and he spoils his understanding; he brings to himself a world of diseases and a healthless constitution; smart and sickly nights; a loathing stomach and a staring eye, a giddy brain and a swelled belly, gouts and dropsies, catarrhs and oppilations. If God should enjoin men to suffer all this, heaven and earth should have heard our complaints against unjust laws and impossible commandments: for we complain already, even when God commands us to drink so long as it is good for us; this is one of the impossible laws; it is impossible for us to know when we are dry, or when we need drink; for if we do know, I am sure it is possible enough not to lift up the wine to our heads. And when our blessed Saviour hath commanded us to love our enemies, we think we have so much reason against it, that God will easily excuse our disobedience in this case; and yet there are some enemies, whom God hath commanded us not to love, and those we dote on, we cherish and feast them, and as St. Paul in another case, 'on our uncomely parts we bestow more abundant comeliness.' For whereas our body itself is a servant to our soul, we make it an heir of all things, and treat it here already as if it were in majority; and make that, which at the best was but a weak friend, to become a strong enemy; and hence proceed the vices of the worst, and the follies and imperfections of the best: the spirit is either in slavery or in weakness, and when the flesh is not strong to mischief, it is weak to goodness; and even to the apostles our blessed Lord said, 'The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak.'

'The spirit,' that is, ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, 'the inward man,' or the reasonable part of man, especially as helped by the Spirit of grace, *that* is willing; for it is the principle of all good actions, the ἐνεργητικὸν, 'the power of working' is from the spirit; but the flesh is but a dull instrument, and a broken arm, in which there is a principle of life, but it moves uneasily; and the flesh is so weak, that in Scripture to be 'in the flesh' signifies a state of weakness and infirmity; so the humiliation of Christ is expressed by being 'in the flesh,' θεὸς φανερωθεὶς ἐν σάρκι, 'God manifested in the flesh;' and what St. Peter calls 'put to death in the flesh,' St. Paul calls 'crucified through weakness;' and, 'ye know that through the infirmity of the

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flesh I preached unto you,' said St. Paul: but here flesh is not opposed to the spirit as a direct enemy, but as a weak servant: for if the flesh be powerful and opposite, the spirit stays not there:

——— veniunt ad candida tecta columbæ: (Ovid.)

The old man and the new cannot dwell together; and therefore here, where the spirit inclining to good, well disposed, and apt to holy counsels, does inhabit in society with the flesh, it means only a weak and unapt nature, or a state of infant grace; for in both these, and in these only, the text is verified.

1. Therefore we are to consider the infirmities of the flesh naturally. 2. Its weakness in the first beginnings of the state of grace, its daily pretensions and temptations, its excuses and lessenings of duty. 3. What remedies there are in the spirit to cure the evils of nature. 4. How far the weakness of the flesh can consist with the Spirit of grace in well-grown Christians. This is the sum of what I intend on these words.

1. Our nature is too weak, in order to our duty and final interest, that at first it cannot move one step towards God, unless God, by his preventing grace, puts into it a new possibility.

Οὐδὲν ἀκιδνότερον γαῖα τρέφει ἀνθρώποιο,
Πάντων, ὅσσά τε γαῖαν ἐπὶ πνείει τε καὶ ἕρπει· Od. σ. 130.

"There is nothing that creeps on the earth, nothing that ever God made weaker than man;" for God fitted horses and mules with strength, bees and pismires with sagacity, harts and hares with swiftness, birds with feathers and a light airy body; and they all know their times, and are fitted for their work, and regularly acquire the proper end of their creation; but man, that was designed to an immortal duration, and the fruition of God for ever, knows not how to obtain it; he is made upright to look up to heaven, but he knows no more how to purchase it than to climb it. Once, man went to make an ambitious tower to outreach the clouds, or the preternatural risings of the water, but could not do it; he cannot promise himself the daily bread of his necessity on the stock of his own wit or industry; and for going to heaven, he was so far from doing that natu-

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rally, that as soon as ever he was made, he became the son of death, and he knew not how to get a pardon for eating of an apple against the Divine commandment: Καὶ ἦμεν φύσει τέκνα ὀργῆς, said the Apostle:* 'By nature we are the sons of wrath,' that is, we were born heirs of death, which death came on us from God's anger for the sin of our first parents; or by nature, that is, ὄντως, ἀληθῶς, 'really,' not by the help of fancy, and fiction of law, for so Œcumenius and Theophylact expound it; but because it does not relate to the sin of Adam in its first intention, but to the evil state of sin, in which the Ephesians walked before the conversion; it signifies that our nature of itself is a state of opposition to the Spirit of grace; it is privately opposed, that is, that there is nothing in it that can bring us to felicity; nothing but an obediential capacity; our flesh can become sanctified, as 'the stones can become children unto Abraham,' or as dead seed can become living corn; and so it is with us, that it is necessary God should make us a new creation, if he means to save us; he must take our hearts of stone away, and give us hearts of flesh; he must purge the old leaven, and make us a new conspersion; he must destroy the flesh, and must breathe into us *spiritum vitæ*, the celestial breath of life, without which we can neither live, nor move, nor have our being. 'No man can come unto me (said Christ), unless my Father draw him:' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἁρπασθέντες οὐρανίου, καθάπερ οἱ βακχευόμενοι καὶ κορυβαντιῶντες ἐνθουσιάζουσι, μέχρις ἂν τὸ ποθούμενον ἴδωσι. The Divine love must come on us and snatch us from our imperfection, enlighten our understanding, move and stir our affections, open the gates of heaven, turn our nature into grace, intirely forgive our former prevarications, take us by the hand, and lead us all along; and we only contribute our assent unto it, just as a child when he is tempted to learn to go, and called on, and guided, and upheld, and constrained to put his feet to the ground, lest he feel the danger by the smart of a fall; just so is our nature, and our state of flesh. God teaches us and invites us, he makes us willing, and then makes us able, he lends us helps, and guides our hands and feet; and all the way constrains us, but yet so as a

* Ephes. ii. 3.

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reasonable creature can be constrained; that is, made willing with arguments, and new inducements, by a state of circumstances and conditional necessities: and as this is a great glorification of the free grace of God, and declares our manner of cooperation, so it represents our nature to be weak as a child, ignorant as infancy, helpless as an orphan, averse as an uninstructed person, in so great degrees that God is forced to bring us to a holy life, by arts great and many as the power and principles of the creation; with this only difference, that the subject matter and object of this new creation is a free agent: in the first it was purely obediential and passive; and as the passion of the first was an effect of the same power that reduced it to act, so the freedom of the second is given us in our nature by Him, that only can reduce it to act; for it is a freedom that cannot therefore choose, because it does not understand, nor taste, nor perceive, the things of God; and therefore must by God's grace be reduced to action, as at first the whole matter of the world was by God's almightiness: for so God 'worketh in us to will and to do of his own good pleasure.' But that I may instance in particulars: Our natural weakness appears best in two things, even in the two great instances of temptations, pleasure and pain; in both which the flesh is destroyed, if it be not helped by a mighty grace, as certainly as the canes do bow their heads before the breath of a mighty wind.

1. In pleasure we see it by the public miseries and follies of the world. An old Greek said well, Οὐδὲν ἀτεχνῶς ὑγιές ἐστιν, ἀλλά εἰσι τοῦ κέρδους ἅπαντες ἥττονες· "There is amongst men nothing perfect, because men carry themselves as persons that are less than money," servants of gain and interest; we are like the foolish poet that Horace tells of:

> Gestit enim nummum in loculos demittere; post hoc
> Securus, cadat, an recto stet fabula talo. Ep. ii. 1. 175.

Let him but have money for rehearsing his comedy, he cares not whether you like it or no; and if a temptation of money comes strong and violent, you may as well tie a wild dog to quietness with the guts of a tender kid, as suppose that most men can do virtuously, when they may sin at a great price. Men avoid poverty, not only because it hath some inconve-

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niences, for they are few and little; but because it is the nurse of virtue; they run from it as children from strict parents and tutors, from those that would confine them to reason, and sober counsels, that would make them labor, that they may become pale and lean, that they may become wise: but because riches is attended by pride and lust, tyranny and oppression, and hath in its hand all that it hath in its heart; and sin waits on wealth ready dressed and fit for action; therefore, in some temptations they confess, how little their souls are, they cannot stand that assault; but because this passion is the daughter of voluptuousness, and very often is but a servant-sin, ministering to sensual pleasures, the great weakness of the flesh is more seen in the matter of carnal crimes, lust and drunkenness. *Nemo enim se adsuefacit ad vitandum et ex animo evellendum ea, quæ molesta ei non sunt:* "Men are so in love with pleasure, that they cannot think of mortifying or crucifying their lust; we do violence to what we hate, not to what we love." But the weakness of the flesh, and the empire of lust, are visible in nothing so much as in the captivity and folly of wise men. For you shall see some men fit to govern a province, sober in their counsels, wise in the conduct of their affairs, men of discourse and reason, fit to sit with princes, or to treat concerning peace and war, the fate of empires and the changes of the world; yet these men shall fall at the beauty of a woman, as a man dies at the blow of an angel, or gives up his breath at the sentence and decree of God. Was not Solomon glorious in all things, but when he bowed to Pharaoh's daughter, and then to devils? And is it not published by the sentence and observation of all the world, that the bravest men have been softened into effeminacy by the lisping charms and childish noises of women and imperfect persons? A fair slave bowed the neck of stout Polydamas, which was stiff and inflexible to the contentions of an enemy: and suppose a man set, like the brave boy of the king of Nicomedia, in the midst of temptation by a witty beauty, tied on a bed with silk and pretty violences, courted with music and perfumes, with promises and easy postures, invited by opportunity and importunity, by rewards and impunity, by privacy and a guard; what would his nature do in this throng of evils and vile circumstances? The grace of God secured the

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young gentleman, and the spirit rode in triumph; but what can flesh do in such a day of danger? Is it not necessary that we take in auxiliaries from reason and religion, from heaven and earth, from observation and experience, from hope and fear, and cease to be what we are, lest we become what we ought not? It is certain that in the cases of temptations to voluptuousness, a man is naturally, as the prophet said of Ephraim, 'like a pigeon that hath no heart,' no courage, no conduct, no resolution, no discourse, but falls as the water of Nilus when it comes to its cataracts,—it falls infinitely and without restraint: and if we consider how many drunken meetings the sun sees every day, how many markets, and fairs, and clubs, that is, so many solemnities of drunkenness are at this instant under the eye of heaven, that many nations are marked for intemperance, and that it is less noted because it is so popular and universal, and that even in the midst of the glories of Christianity there are so many persons drunk, or too full with meat, or greedy of lust; even now that the Spirit of God is given to us to make us sober, and temperate, and chaste,—we may well imagine, since all men have flesh, and all men have not the Spirit, the flesh is the parent of sin and death, and it can be nothing else.

2. And it is no otherwise when we are tempted with pain. We are so impatient of pain, that nothing can reconcile us to it; not the laws of God, not the necessities of nature, not the society of all our kindred, and of all the world, not the interest of virtue, not the hopes of heaven; we will submit to pain on no terms but the basest and most dishonorable; for if sin brings us to pain, or affront, or sickness, we choose that, so it be in the retinue of a lust, and a base desire; but we accuse nature, and blaspheme God, we murmur and are impatient when pain is sent to us, from him that ought to send it, and intends it as a mercy when it comes. But in the matter of afflictions and bodily sickness, we are so weak and broken, so uneasy and unapt to sufferance, that this alone is beyond the cure of the old philosophy. Many can endure poverty, and many can retire from shame and laugh at home, and very many can endure to be slaves; but when pain and sharpness are to be endured for the interests of virtue, we find but few martyrs; and they that

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are, suffer more within themselves by their fears and their temptations, by their uncertain purposes and violence to nature, than the hangman's sword; the martyrdom is within; and then he hath won his crown, not when he hath suffered the blow, but when he hath overcome his fears, and made his spirit conqueror. It was a sad instance of our infirmity, when of the forty martyrs of Cappadocia, set in a freezing lake, almost consummate, and an angel was reaching the crown, and placing it on their brows, the flesh failed one of them, and drew the spirit after it; and the man was called off from his scene of noble contention, and died in warm water:

——— Odi artus, fragilemque hunc corporis usum
Desertorem animi———

We carry about us the body of death, and we bring evil on ourselves by our follies, and then know not how to bear them; and the flesh forsakes the spirit. And, indeed, in sickness the infirmity is so very great, that God in a manner at that time hath reduced all religion into one virtue; patience with its appendages is the sum total of almost all our duty, that is proper to the days of sorrow; and we shall find it enough to entertain all our powers, and to employ all our aids; the counsels of wise men and the comforts of our friends, the advices of Scripture and the results of experience, the graces of God and the strength of our own resolutions, are all then full of employments, and find it work enough to secure that one grace. For then it is that a cloud is wrapped about our heads, and our reason stoops under sorrow; the soul is sad, and its instrument is out of tune; the auxiliaries are disordered, and every thought sits heavily: then a comfort cannot make the body feel it, and the soul is not so abstracted to rejoice much without its partner: so that the proper joys of the soul,—such as are hope, and wise discourses, and satisfactions of reason, and the offices of religion,—are felt, just as we now perceive the joys of heaven, with so little relish that it comes as news of a victory to a man on the rack, or the birth of an heir to one condemned to die; he hears a story which was made to delight him, but it came when he was dead to joy, and all its capacities; and therefore sickness, though it be a good monitor, yet it is an ill

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stage to act some virtues in; and a good man cannot then do much; and therefore he that is in a state of flesh and blood can do nothing at all.

But in these considerations we find our nature in disadvantages; and a strong man may be overcome when a stronger comes to disarm him; and pleasure and pain are the violences of choice and chance; but it is no better in any thing else: for nature is weak in all its strengths, and in its fights, at home and abroad, in its actions and passions; we love some things violently, and hate others unreasonably: any thing can fright us when we would be confident, and nothing can scare us when we ought to fear; the breaking of a glass puts us into a supreme anger, and we are dull and indifferent as a stoic when we see God dishonored; we passionately desire our preservation, and yet we violently destroy ourselves, and will not be hindered; we cannot deny a friend when he tempts us to sin and death, and yet we daily deny God, when he passionately invites us to life and health; we are greedy after money, and yet spend it vainly on our lusts; we hate to see any man flattered but ourselves, and we can endure folly if it be on our side, and a sin for our interest; we desire health, and yet we exchange it for wine and madness; we sink when a persecution comes, and yet cease not daily to persecute ourselves, doing mischiefs worse than the sword of tyrants, and great as the malice of a devil.

But to sum up all the evils that can be spoken of the infirmities of the flesh; the proper nature and habitudes of men are so foolish and impotent, so averse and peevish to all good, that a man's will is of itself only free to choose evils. Neither is it a contradiction to say liberty, and yet suppose it determined to one object only; because that one object is the thing we choose. For although God hath set life and death before us, fire and water, good and evil, and hath primarily put man into the hands of his own counsel, that he might have chosen good as well as evil; yet because he did not, but fell into an evil condition and corrupted manners, and grew in love with it, and infected all his children with vicious examples; and all nations of the world have contracted some universal stains, and 'the thoughts of men's hearts are only evil, and that continually;'

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and 'there is not one that doth good, no, not one that sinneth not:' since (I say) all the world have sinned, we cannot suppose a liberty of indifferency to good and bad: it is impossible in such a liberty that there should be no variety, that all should choose the same thing; but a liberty of complacency or delight we may suppose; that is so, that though naturally he might choose good, yet morally he is so determined with his love to evil, that good seldom comes into dispute; and a man runs to evil as he runs to meat or sleep; for why else should it be that every one can teach a child to be proud, or to swear, to lie, or to do little spites to his playfellow, and can train him up to infant follies? But the severity of tutors, and the care of parents, discipline and watchfulness, arts and diligence, all is too little to make him love but to say his prayers, or to do that which becomes persons designed for honest purposes, and his malice shall outrun his years; he shall be a man in villany, before he is by law capable of choice or inheritance; and this indisposition lasts on us for ever; even as long as we live, just in the same degrees as flesh and blood do rule us: Σώματος μὲν γὰρ ἀῤῥωστίαν ἰᾶται τέχνη, ψυχῆς δὲ νόσημα ἰατρὸς ἰᾶται θάνατος· "Art of physicians can cure the evils of the body, but this strange propensity to evil nothing can cure but death;' the grace of God eases the malignity here, but it cannot be cured but by glory; that is, this freedom of delight or perfect unabated election of evil, which is consequent to the evil manners of the world, although it be lessened by the intermedial state of grace, yet it is not cured until it be changed into its quite contrary; but as it is in heaven, all that is happy, and glorious, and free, yet can choose nothing but the love of God and excellent things, because God fills all the capacities of saints, and there is nothing without him that hath any degrees of amiability: so in the state of nature, of flesh and blood; there is so much ignorance of spiritual excellences, and so much proportion to sensual objects, which in most instances and in many degrees are prohibited, that, as men naturally know no good, but to please a wild, undetermined, infinite appetite, so they will nothing else but what is good in their limit and proportion; and it is with us as it was with the she-goat that suckled the wolf's whelp: he grew up by his nurse's milk, and at last having forgot his

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foster-mother's kindness, ate that udder which gave him drink and nourishment:

Improbitas nullo flectitur obsequio:

For no kindness will cure an ill-nature and a base disposition: so are we in the first constitution of our nature; so perfectly given to natural vices, that by degrees we degenerate into unnatural, and no education or power of art can make us choose wisely or honestly: Ἐγὼ δὲ μίαν εὐγένειαν οἶδα τὴν ἀρετὴν, said Phalaris; "There is no good nature but only virtue:" till we are new created, we are wolves and serpents, free and delighted in the choice of evil, but stones and iron to all excellent things and purposes.

2. Next I am to consider the weakness of the flesh, even when the state is changed, in the beginning of the state of grace: for many persons, as soon as the grace of God rises in their hearts, are all on fire, and inflamed; it is with them as Homer said of the Sirian star:

> Λαμπρότατος μὲν ὅγ' ἐστὶ, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται,
> Καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.—Il. χ. 30.

'It shines finely, and brings fevers;' splendor and zeal are the effects of the first grace, and sometimes the first turns into pride, and the second into uncharitableness; and either by too dull and slow motions, or by too violent and unequal, the flesh will make pretences, and too often prevail on the spirit, even after the grace of God hath set up its banners in our hearts.

1. In some dispositions that are forward and apt, busy and unquiet, when the grace of God hath taken possession, and begins to give laws, it seems so pleasant and gay to their undiscerning spirits to be delivered from the sottishness of lust, and the follies of drunkenness, that reflecting on the change, they begin to love themselves too well, and take delight in the wisdom of the change, and the reasonableness of the new life; and then they, hating their own follies, begin to despise them that dwell below; it was the trick of the old philosophers, whom Aristophanes (Nub. 103.) thus describes, τοὺς ἀλαζόνας, Τοὺς ὠχριῶντας, τοὺς ἀνυποδήτους λέγεις· "pale, and barefoot, and proud;" that is, persons singular in their habit, eminent in their

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institution, proud and pleased in their persons, and despisers of them that are less glorious in their virtue than themselves; and for this very thing our blessed Saviour remarks the pharisees, they were severe and fantastical advancers of themselves, and judges of their neighbors; and here, when they have mortified corporal vices, such which are scandalous and punishable by men, they keep the spiritual, and those that are only discernible by God: these men do but change their sin from scandal to danger, and that they may sin more safely, they sin more spiritually.

2. Sometimes the passions of the flesh spoil the changes of the spirit, by natural excesses, and disproportion of degrees; it mingles violence with industry, and fury with zeal, and uncharitableness with reproof, and censuring with discipline, and violence with desires, and immortifications in all the appetites and prosecutions of the soul. Some think it is enough in all instances, if they pray hugely and fervently; and that it is religion, impatiently to desire a victory over our enemies, or the life of a child, or an heir to be born; they call it holy, so they desire it in prayer; that if they reprove a vicious person, they may say what they list, and be as angry as they please; that when they demand but reason, they may enforce it by all means; that when they exact duty of their children, they may be imperious and without limit; that if they design a good end, they may prosecute it by all instruments; that when they give God thanks for blessings, they may value the things as high as they list, though their persons come into a share of the honor; here the spirit is willing and holy, but the flesh creeps too busily, and insinuates into the substance of good actions, and spoils them by unhandsome circumstances; and then the prayer is spoiled for want of prudence or conformity to God's will, and discipline and government are imbittered by an angry spirit; and the father's authority turns into an uneasy load; by being thrust like an unequal burden to one side, without allowing equal measures to the other: and if we consider it wisely, we shall find that in many good actions the flesh is the bigger ingredient, and we betray our weak constitutions, even when we do justice or charity; and many men pray in the flesh, when they pretend they pray by the Spirit.

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3. In the first changes and weak progresses of our spiritual life, we find a long weakness on us, because we are long before we begin, and the flesh was powerful, and its habits strong, and it will mingle indirect pretences with all the actions of the spirit; if we mean to pray, the flesh thrusts in thoughts of the world; and our tongue speaks one thing, and our hearts mean another: and we are hardly brought to say our prayers, or to undertake a fasting-day, or to celebrate a communion: and if we remember that all these holy actions should be done, and that we have many opportunities of doing them all, and yet do them very seldom, and then very coldly, it would be found at the foot of the account, that our flesh and our natural weakness prevail oftener than our spiritual strengths: *οἱ πολὺν χρόνον δεθέντες, κᾷν λυθεῖεν, οὐ δυνάμενοι βαδίζειν, ὑποσκελίζονται*· "they that are bound long in chains, feel such a lameness, in the first restitutions of their liberty," *ὑπὸ τῆς πολυχρονίου τῶν δεσμῶν συνηθείας*, "by reason of the long-accustomed chain and pressure," that they may stay till nature hath set them free, and the disease be taken off as well as the chain; and when the soul is got free from her actual pressure of sins, still the wound remains, and a long habitude, and longing after it, a looking back; and on the presenting the old object, the same company, or the remembrance of the delight, the fancy strikes, and the heart fails, and the temptations return and stand dressed in form and circumstances, and ten to one but the man dies again.

4. Some men are wise and know their weaknesses, and to prevent their startings back, will make fierce and strong resolutions, and bind up their gaps with thorns, and make a new hedge about their spirits; and what then? This shows, indeed, that 'the spirit is willing;' but the storm arises, and winds blow, and rain descends, and presently the earth trembles, and the whole fabric falls into ruin and disorder. A resolution (such as we usually make) is nothing but a little trench, which every child can step over; and there is no civil man that commits a willing sin, but he does it against his resolution; and what Christian lives that will not say and think that he hath repented in some degree; and yet still they commit sin, that is, they break all their holy purposes as readily as they lose a dream; and so great is our weakness, that to most men the

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strength of a resolution is just such a restraint as he suffers, who is imprisoned in a curtain, and secured with doors and bars of the finest linen: for though 'the spirit be strong' to resolve, 'the flesh is weak' to keep it.

5. But when they have felt their follies, and see the linen-veil rent, some that are desirous to please God back their resolutions with vows, and then the spirit is fortified, and the flesh may tempt and call, but the soul cannot come forth, and therefore it triumphs, and acts its interest easily and certainly; and then the flesh is mortified: it may be so. But do not many of us inquire after a vow? And if we consider, it may be it was rash, or it was an impossible matter, or without just consideration and weighing of circumstances, or the case is altered, and there is a new emergent necessity, or a vow is no more than a resolution made in matter of duty; both are made for God, and in his eye and witness; or if nothing will do it, men grow sad and weary, and despair, and are impatient, and bite the knot in pieces with their teeth, which they cannot by disputing, and the arts of the tongue. A vow will not secure our duty, because it is not stronger than our appetite; and the spirit of man is weaker than the habits and superinduced nature of the flesh: but by little and little it falls off, like the finest thread twisted on the traces of a chariot, it cannot hold long.

6. Beyond all this, some choose excellent guides, and stand within the restraints of modesty, and a severe monitor; and the Spirit of God hath put a veil on our spirits; and by modesty in women and young persons, by reputation in the more aged, and by honor in the more noble, and by conscience in all, hath fortified the spirit of man, that men dare not prevaricate their duty, though they be tempted strongly and invited perpetually; and this is a partition-wall, that separates the spirit from the flesh, and keeps it in its proper strength and retirements. But here the spirit of man, for all that it is assisted, strongly breaks from the inclosures, and runs into societies of flesh, and sometimes despises reputation, and sometimes supplies it with little arts of flattery and self-love; and is modest as long as it can be secret; and when it is discovered, it grows impudent; and a man shelters himself in crowds and heaps of sinners, and believes that it is no worse with him than with other mighty crimi-

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nals and public persons, who bring sin into credit among fools and vicious persons; or else men take false measures of fame or public honesty, and the world being broken into so many parts of disunion, and agreeing in nothing but in confederate vice, and grown so remiss in governments, and severe accounts, every thing is left so loose, that honor and public fame, modesty and shame, are now so slender guards to the spirit, that the flesh breaks in, and makes most men more bold against God than against men, and against the laws of religion than of the commonwealth.

7. When the spirit is made willing by the grace of God, the flesh interposes in deceptions and false principles. If you tempt some man to a notorious sin, as to rebellion, to deceive his trust, or to be drunk, he will answer he had rather die than do it: but put the sin civilly to him, and let it be disguised with little excuses, such things which indeed are trifles, but yet they are colors fair enough to make a weak pretence, and the spirit yields instantly. Most men choose the sin, if it be once disputable whether it be a sin or no? If they can but make an excuse, or a color, so that it shall not rudely dash against the conscience with an open professed name of sin, they suffer the temptation to do its worst. If you tempt a man, you must tell him it is no sin, or it is excusable: this is not rebellion, but necessity, and self-defence; it is not against my allegiance, but is a performing of my trust; I do it for my friend, not against my superior; I do it for a good end, and for his advantage: this is not drunkenness, but free mirth, and fair society; it is refreshment, and entertainment of some supernumerary hours, but it is not a throwing away my time, or neglecting a day of salvation; and if there be any thing more to say for it, though it be no more than Adam's fig-leaves, or the excuses of children and tyrants, it shall be enough to make the flesh prevail, and the spirit not to be troubled: for so great is our folly, that the flesh always carries the cause, if the spirit can be cozened.

8. The flesh is so mingled with the spirit, that we are forced to make distinctions in our appetite, to reconcile our affections to God and religion, lest it be impossible to do our duty; we weep for our sins, but we weep more for the death of our dear-

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ent friends, or other temporal sadnesses; we say we had rather die than lose our faith, and yet we do not live according to it; we lose our estates and are impatient; we lose our virtue and bear it well enough; and what virtue is so great as more to be troubled for having sinned, than for being ashamed, and beggared, and condemned to die? Here we are forced to a distinction: there is a valuation of price, and a valuation of sense: or the spirit hath one rate of things, and the flesh hath another; and what we believe the greatest evil, does not always cause to us the greatest trouble; which shows plainly that we are imperfect carnal persons, and the flesh will in some measure prevail over the spirit; because we will suffer it in too many instances, and cannot help it in all.

3. The spirit is abated and interrupted by the flesh, because the flesh pretends it is not able to do those ministries which are appointed in order to religion; we are not able to fast; or, if we watch, it breeds gouts and catarrhs; or, charity is a grace too expensive, our necessities are too big to do it; or, we cannot suffer pain; and sorrow breeds death, and therefore our repentance must be more gentle, and we must support ourselves in all our calamities: for we cannot bear our crosses without a freer refreshment, and this freedom passes on to license; and many melancholy persons drown their sorrows in sin and forgetfulness, as if sin were more tolerable than sorrow, and the anger of God an easier load than a temporal care: here the flesh betrays its weakness and its follies: for the flesh complains too soon, and the spirit of some men, like Adam, being too fond of his Eve, attends to all its murmurs and temptations; and yet the flesh is able to bear far more than is required of it in usual duties. Custom of suffering will make us endure much, and fear will make us suffer more, and necessity makes us suffer any thing; and lust and desire make us to endure more than God is willing we should: and yet we are nice, and tender, and indulgent to our weaknesses, till our weaknesses grow too strong for us. And what shall we do to secure our duty, and to be delivered of ourselves, that the body of death, which we bear about us, may not destroy the life of the spirit?

I have all this while complained, and you see not without cause; I shall afterward tell you the remedies for all this evil.

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In the mean time let us have but mean opinions of ourselves; let us watch every thing of ourselves as of suspected persons, and magnify the grace of God, and be humbled for our stock and spring of follies, and let us look up to him who is the Fountain of grace and spiritual strengths:

> Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν ἐσθλὰ καὶ εὐχομένοις καὶ ἀνεύκτοις
> Ἄμμι δίδου· τὰ δὲ λυγρὰ καὶ εὐχομένων ἀπερύκοις·
>
> Br. An. T. iii. p. 250.

and pray that God would give us what we ask, and what we ask not: for we want more helps than we understand, and we are nearer to evil than we perceive, and we bear sin and death about us, and are in love with it; and nothing comes from us but false principles, and silly propositions, and weak discourses, and startings from our holy purposes, and care of our bodies, and of our palates, and the lust of the lower belly; these are the employment of our lives; but if we design to live happily, and in a better place, it must be otherwise with us: we must become new creatures; and have another definition, and have new strengths, which we can only derive from God, whose 'grace is sufficient for us,' and strong enough to prevail over all our follies and infirmities.

SERMON IV.

PART II.

3. If it be possible to cure an evil nature, we must inquire after remedies for all this mischief. In order to which I shall consider; 1. that since it is our flesh and blood that is the principle of mischief, we must not think to have it cured by washings and light medicaments: the physician that went to cure the hectic with quicksilver and fasting-spittle, did his patient no good, but himself became a proverb; and he that by easy prayers and a seldom fast, by the scattering of a little alms,

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and the issues of some more natural virtue, thinks to cure his evil nature, does fortify his indisposition, as a stick is hardened by a little fire, which by a great one is devoured. *Quanto satius est mentem eluere, quæ malis cupiditatibus sordidatur, et, uno virtutis ac fidei lavacro, universa vitia depellere?** "Better it is by an intire body of virtue, by a living and active faith, to cleanse the mind from every vice, and to take off all superinduced habits of sin;" *Quod qui fecerit, quamlibet inquinatum ac sordidum corpus gerat, satis purus est.* If we take this course, although our body is foul, and our affections unquiet, and our rest discomposed, yet we shall be masters of our resolution, and clean from habitual sins, and so cure our evil nature. For our nature was not made evil but by ourselves; but yet we are naturally evil, that is, by a superinduced nature; just as drunkards and intemperate persons have made it necessary to drink extremely, and their nature requires it, and it is health to them; they die without it, because they have made themselves a new constitution, and another nature, but much worse than that which God made; their sin made this new nature; and this new nature makes sin necessary and unavoidable: so it is in all other instances; our nature is evil, because we have spoiled it; and therefore the removing the sin which we have brought in, is the way to cure our nature: for this evil nature is not a thing which we cannot avoid; we made it, and therefore we must help it; but as in the superinducing this evil nature, we were thrust forward by the world and the devil, by all objects from without, and weakness from within; so in the curing it we are to be helped by God and his most Holy Spirit.

> *Βαθεῖαν ἄλοκα διὰ φρενὸς καρπούμενος,*
> *Ἐξ ἧς τὰ κεδνὰ βλαστάνει βουλεύματα·*
>
> Æsch. Sept. Blomf. 590.

We must have a new nature put into us, which must be the principle of new counsels and better purposes, of holy actions and great devotion; and this nature is derived from God, and is a grace and a favor of heaven. The same Spirit that caused the holy Jesus to be born after a new and strange manner,

* Lactantius.

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must also descend on us, and cause us to be born again, and to begin a new life on the stock of a new nature. 'Αφ' ἐκείνου ἤρξατο θεία καὶ ἀνθρωπίνη συνυφαίνεσθαι φύσις, ἵν' ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη τῇ πρὸς τὸ θειότερον κοινωνίᾳ γένηται θεία, said Origen: "From him it first began that a divine and human nature were weaved together, that the human nature by communication with the celestial may also become divine;" οὐκ ἐν μόνῳ τῷ Ἰησοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς μετὰ τὸ πιστεύειν ἀναλαμβάνουσι βίον, ὃν Ἰησοῦς ἐδίδαξεν: "not only in Jesus, but in all that first believe in him, and then obey him, living such a life as Jesus taught:" and this is the sum total of the whole design; as we have lived to the flesh, so we must hereafter live to the Spirit: as our nature hath been flesh, not only in its original, but in habits and affection; so our nature must be spirit in habit and choice, in design and effectual prosecutions; for nothing can cure our old death but this new birth: and this is the recovery of our nature, and the restitution of our hopes, and therefore the greatest joy of mankind.

——— φίλον μὲν φέγγος ἡλίου τόδε,
Καλὸν δὲ πόντου χεῦμ' ἰδεῖν εὐήνεμον,
Γῆ τ' ἠρινὸν θάλλουσα, πλουσιόν θ' ὕδωρ.*

"It is a fine thing to see the light of the sun, and it is pleasant to see the storm allayed and turned into a smooth sea and a fresh gale; our eyes are pleased to see the earth begin to live, and to produce her little issues with parti-colored coats:"

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω λαμπρὸν, οὐδ' ἰδεῖν καλὸν,
Ὡς τοῖς ἄπαισι καὶ πόθῳ δεδηγμένοις
Παίδων νεογνῶν ἐν δόμοις ἰδεῖν φάος.

"Nothing is so beauteous as to see a new birth in a childless family;" and it is excellent to hear a man discourse the hidden things of nature, and unriddle the perplexities of human notices and mistakes; it is comely to see a wise man sit in the gates of the city, and give right judgment in difficult causes: but all this is nothing to the excellences of a new birth; to see the old man carried forth to funeral with the solemn tears of repentance, and buried in the grave of Jesus, and in his place a new cre-

* Euripides. Dan.

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ation to arise, a new heart and a new understanding, and new affections, and excellent appetites: for nothing less than this can cure all the old distempers.

2. Our life, and all our discourses, and every observation, and a state of reason, and a union of sober counsels, are too little to cure a peevish spirit, and a weak reasoning, and silly principles, and accursed habits, and evil examples, and perverse affections, and a whole body of sin and death. It was well said in the comedy: (Adelph. 857.)

> Nunquam ita quisquam bene subducta ratione ad vitam fuit,
> Quin res, ætas, usus semper aliquid apportet novi,
> Aliquid moneat; ut illa, quæ te scire credas, nescias;
> Et quæ tibi putaris prima, in experiundo ut repudies.

Men at first think themselves wise, and are always most confident when they have the least reason; and to-morrow they begin to perceive yesterday's folly, and yet they are not wise; but as the little embryo, in the natural sheet and lap of its mother, first distinguishes into a little knot, and that in time will be the heart, and then into a bigger bundle, which after some days' abode grows into two little spots, and they, if cherished by nature, will become eyes, and each part by order commences into weak principles, and is preserved with nature's great curiosity; that it may assist first to distinction, then to order, next to usefulness, and from thence to strength, till it arrive at beauty, and a perfect creature; so are the necessities, and so are the discourses of men; we first learn the principles of reason, which break obscurely through a cloud, and bring a little light, and then we discern a folly, and by little and little leave it, till that enlightens the next corner of the soul: and then there is a new discovery; but the soul is still in infancy and childish follies; and every day does but the work of one day; but therefore art and use, experience and reason, although they do something, yet they cannot do enough, there must be something else: but this is to be wrought by a new principle, that is, by the Spirit of grace: nature and reason alone cannot do it, and therefore the proper cure is to be wrought by those general means of inviting and cherishing, of getting and entertaining God's Spirit, which when we have observed, we may

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account ourselves sufficiently instructed towards the repair of our breaches, and reformation of our evil nature.

1. The first great instrument of changing our whole nature into the state of grace, flesh into the spirit, is a firm belief, and a perfect assent to, and hearty entertainment of, the promises of the gospel; for Holy Scripture speaks great words concerning faith. 'It quenches the fiery darts of the devil,' saith St. Paul;* 'it overcomes the world,' saith St. John;† it is the fruit of the Spirit, and the parent of love; it is obedience, and it is humility, it is a shield, and it is a breastplate, and a work, and a mystery, it is a fight, and it is a victory, it is pleasing God, and it is that 'whereby the just do live;' by 'faith we are purified,' and by 'faith we are sanctified,' and by 'faith we are justified,' and by 'faith we are saved:' by this 'we have access to the throne of grace,' and by it our prayers shall prevail 'for the sick,' by it we stand, and by it we walk, and by this 'Christ dwells in our hearts,' and by it all the miracles of the Church have been done: it gives great patience to suffer, and great confidence to hope, and great strength to do, and infallible certainty to enjoy the end of all our faith, and satisfaction of all our hopes, and the reward of all our labors, even 'the most mighty prize of our high calling:' and if faith be such a magazine of spiritual excellences, of such universal efficacy, nothing can be a greater antidote against the venom of a corrupted nature. But then this is not a grace seated finally in the understanding, but the principle that is designed to, and actually productive of, a holy life; it is not only a believing the propositions of Scripture as we believe a proposition in the metaphysics, concerning which a man is never the honester whether it be true or false; but it is a belief of things that concern us infinitely, things so great that if they be so true as great, no man that hath his reason and can discourse, that can think and choose, that can desire and work towards an end, can possibly neglect. The great object of our faith, to which all other articles do minister, is resurrection of our bodies and souls to eternal life, and glories infinite. Now is it possible that a man that believes this, and that he may obtain it for himself, and

* Ephes. iv. 4. 16. † John iv. 5.

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that it was prepared for him, and that God desires to give it him—that he can neglect and despise it, and not work for it, and perform such easy conditions on which it may be obtained? Are not most men of the world made miserable at a less price than a thousand pounds a year? Do not all the usurers and merchants, all tradesmen and laborers under the sun, toil and care, labor and contrive, venture and plot, for a little money? and no man gets, and scarce any man desires, so much of it as he can lay on three acres of ground; not so much as will fill a great house. And is this sum, that is such a trifle, such a poor limited heap of dirt, the reward of all the labor and the end of all the care, and the design of all the malice, and the recompense of all the wars of the world; and can it be imaginable that life itself, and a long life, an eternal and happy life, a kingdom, a perfect kingdom and glorious, that shall never have ending, nor ever shall be abated with rebellion, or fears, or sorrow, or care; that such a kingdom should not be worth the praying for, and quitting of an idle company, and a foolish humor, or a little drink, or a vicious silly woman, for it? Surely men believe no such thing: they do not rely on those fine stories that are read in books, and published by preachers, and allowed by the laws of all the world. If they did, why do they choose intemperance and a fever, lust and shame, rebellion and danger, pride and a fall, sacrilege and a curse, gain and passion, before humility and safety, religion and a constant joy, devotion and peace of conscience, justice and a quiet dwelling, charity and a blessing; and at the end of all this, a kingdom more glorious than all the beauties of the sun did ever see? *Fides est velut quoddam æternitatis exemplar; præterita simul et præsentia et futura sinu quodam vastissimo comprehendit, ut nihil ei præteat, nil pereat, præeat nihil;* now, "Faith is a certain image of eternity; all things are present to it; things past and things to come," are all so before the eyes of faith, that he in whose eye that candle is enkindled, beholds heaven as present, and sees how blessed a thing it is to die in God's favor, and to be chimed to our grave with the music of a good conscience. Faith converses with the angels, and antedates the hymns of glory: every man that hath this grace is as certain that there are glories for him, if he perseveres in duty, as if he had heard

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and sung the thanksgiving-song for the blessed sentence of doomsday. And therefore it is no matter if these things are separate and distant objects; none but children and fools are taken with the present trifle, and neglect a distant blessing, of which they have credible and believed notices. Did the merchant see the pearls and the wealth he designed to get in the trade of twenty years? And is it possible that a child should, when he learns the first rudiments of grammar, know what excellent things there are in learning, whither he designs his labor, and his hopes? We labor for that which is uncertain, and distant, and believed, and hoped for with many allays, and seen with diminution, and a troubled ray; and what excuse can there be that we do not labor for that, which is told us by God, and preached by his only Son, and confirmed by miracles, and which Christ himself died to purchase, and millions of martyrs died to witness, and which we see good men and wise believe with an assent stronger than their evidence, and which they do believe because they do love, and love because they do believe? There is nothing to be said, but that faith which did enlighten the blind, and cleanse the lepers, and washed the soul of the Æthiopian; that faith that cures the sick, and strengthens the paralytic, and baptises the catechumens, and justifies the faithful, and repairs the penitent, and confirms the just, and crowns the martyrs; that faith, if it be true and proper, Christian and alive, active and effective in us, is sufficient to appease the storm of our passions, and to instruct all our ignorances, and to make us wise unto salvation; it will, if we let it do its first intention, chastise our errors, and discover our follies: it will make us ashamed of trifling interests and violent prosecutions, of false principles and the evil disguises of the world; and then our nature will return to the innocence and excellency in which God first estated it; that is, our flesh will be a servant of the soul, and the soul a servant to the spirit; and then, because faith makes heaven to be the end of our desires, and God the object of our love and worshippings, and the Scripture the rule of our actions, and Christ our lord and master, and the Holy Spirit our mighty assistant and our counsellor, all the little uglinesses of the world, and the follies of the flesh, will be uneasy and unsavory, unreasonable, and a load; and then that

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grace, the grace of faith, that lays hold on the holy Trinity, although it cannot understand it, and beholds heaven before it can possess it, shall also correct our weaknesses, and master all our adversations: and though we cannot in this world be perfect masters, and triumphant persons, yet we be conquerors and more; that is, conquerors of the direct hostility, and sure of a crown to be revealed in its due time.

2. The second great remedy of our evil nature, and of the loads of the flesh, is devotion, or a state of prayer and intercourse with God. For the gift of the Spirit of God, which is the great antidote of our evil natures, is properly and expressly promised to prayer: 'If you, who are evil, give good things to your children that ask you, how much more shall your Father from heaven give his holy Spirit to them that ask it?' That which in St. Luke is called ἅγιον πνεῦμα,* 'the Holy Spirit,' is called in St. Matthew, τὰ ἀγαθὰ,† 'good things;' that is, the Holy Spirit is all that good that we shall need towards our pardon, and our sanctification, and our glory, and this is promised to prayer; to this purpose Christ taught us the Lord's Prayer, by which we are sufficiently instructed in obtaining this magazine of holy and useful things. But prayer is but one part of devotion, and though of admirable efficacy towards the obtaining this excellent promise, yet it is to be assisted by the other parts of devotion, to make it a perfect remedy to our great evil. He that would secure his evil nature must be a devout person; and he that is devout, besides that he prays frequently, he delights in it as it is a conversation with God; he rejoices in God, and esteems him the light of his eyes, and the support of his confidence, the object of his love, and the desire of his heart; the man is uneasy, but when he does God service; and his soul is at peace and rest, when he does what may be accepted: and this is that which the Apostle counsels, and gives in precept; 'Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say rejoice;'‡ that is, as the Levites were appointed to rejoice, because God was their portion in tithes and offerings, so now that in the spiritual sense God is our portion, we should rejoice in him, and make him our

* Luke xi. 13. † Matt. vii. 11. ‡ Phil. iv. 4.

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inheritance, and his service our employment, and the peace of conscience to be our rest, and then it is impossible we should be any longer slaves to sin, and afflicted by the baser employments of the flesh, or carry burdens for the devil; and therefore the scholiast on Juvenal observed well, *Nullum malum gaudium est*, "No true joy can be evil;" and therefore it was improperly said of Virgil, *Mala gaudia mentis*, calling lust and wild desires "the evil joys of the mind;" *Gaudium enim nisi sapienti non contingere*, said Seneca; "None but a wise and a good man can truly rejoice;" the evil laugh loud, and sigh deeply, they drink drunk, and forget their sorrows, and all the joys of evil men are only arts of forgetfulness, devices to cover their sorrow, and make them not see their death, and its affrighting circumstances; but the heart never can rejoice and be secure, be pleased and be at rest, but when it dwells with holiness: the joys that come from thence are safe and great, unchangeable and unabated, healthful and holy; and this is true joy; and this is that which can cure all the little images of pleasure and temptation which debauch our nature, and make it dwell with hospitals, in the region of diseases and evil sorrows. St. Gregory well observed the difference, saying that "Corporeal pleasures, when we have them not, enkindle a flame and a burning desire in the heart, and make a man very miserable before he tastes them; the appetite to them is like the thirst and the desires of a fever;" the pleasure of drinking will not pay for the pain of the desire; and, "when they are enjoyed, they instantly breed satiety and loathing. But spiritual rejoicings and delights are loathed by them that have them not, and despised by them that never felt them;" but when they are once tasted, they increase the appetite and swell into bigger capacities; and the more they are eaten, the more they are desired; and cannot become a weariness, because they satisfy all the way, and only increase the desire, because themselves grow bigger and more amiable. And therefore when this new and stranger appetite, and consequent joy arises in the heart of man, it so fills all the faculties, that there is no gust, no desire left for toads and vipers, for hemlock and the deadly nightshade.

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Sirenas, hilarem navigantium pœnam,
Blandasque mortes, gaudiumque crudele,
Quas nemo quondam deserebat auditas,
Fallax Ulysses dicitur reliquisse. Mart. iii. 64.

Then a man can hear the music of songs and dances, and think them to be heathenish noises; and if he be engaged in the society of a woman-singer, he can be as unconcerned as a marble statue; he can be at a feast and not defiled, he can pass through theatres as through a street: then he can look on money as his servant, *nec distant æra lupinis;* he can use it as the Greeks did their sharp coins, to cast accounts withal, and not from thence take the accounts of his wealth or his felicity. If you can once obtain but to delight in prayer, and to long for the day of a communion, and to be pleased with holy meditation, and to desire God's grace with great passion, and an appetite keen as a wolf on the void plains of the north; if you can delight in God's love, and consider concerning his providence, and busy yourselves in the pursuit of the affairs of his kingdom, then you have the grace of devotion, and your evil nature shall be cured.

3. Because this great cure is to be wrought by the Spirit of God, which is a new nature in us, we must endeavor to abstain from those things, which by a special malignity are directly opposite to the spirit of reason, and the Spirit of grace; and those are drunkenness and lust. He that is full of wine cannot be full of the Spirit of God: St. Paul noteth the hostility; 'Be not drunk with wine, but be filled with the Spirit:'* a man that is a drunkard, does *perire cito,* 'he perishes quickly,' his temptations that come to him, make but short work with him; a drunkard is ἄσωτος; our English well expresses it, it is "a sottishness," and the man is ἀκόλαστος, ἄχρειος, ἄχρηστος, "a useless, senseless person:" εἶτ' οὐχ' ἁπάντων ἐστὶ τὸ μεθύειν κακὸν μέγιστον ἀνθρώποισι καὶ βλαβερώτατον: "of all the evils of the world, nothing is worse to a man's self, nothing is more harmful than this;" ἀποστεροῦντα ἑαυτὸν τοῦ φρονεῖν, ὃ μέγιστον ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν ἔχει ἡ φύσις, said Crobylus; "it deprives a wise man

* Ephes. v. 18.

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of his counsel and his understanding." Now, because it is the greatest good that nature hath, that which takes it away must needs be our greatest enemy. Nature is weak enough of itself, but drunkenness takes from it all the little strengths that are left to it, and destroys the Spirit; and the man can neither have the strengths of nature, nor the strengths of grace; and how then can the man do wisely or virtuously? *Spiritus Sanctus amat sicca corda*, "The Spirit of God loves dry hearts," said the Christian proverb; and Josephus said of Samson, Δῆλον ἦν προφητεύσων ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν διαίταν σωφροσύνης: "it appears he was a prophet, or a man full of the Spirit, by the temperance of his diet," and now that all the people are holy unto the Lord, they must ἀοίνους ἁγνείας ἔχειν, as Plutarch said of their consecrated persons: they must have "dry and sober purities:" for by this means their reason is useful, and their passions not violent, and their discourse united, and the precious things of their memory at hand, and they can pray and read, and they can meditate and practise, and then they can learn where their natural weaknesses are most urgent, and how they can be tempted, and can secure their aids accordingly; but how is it possible, that such a man should cure all the evils of his nature, and repair the breaches of Adam's sin, and stop all the effect which is on him from all the evils of the world, if he delights in seas of drink, and is pleased with the follies of distempered persons, and laughs loud at the childish humors and weak discourses of the man that can do nothing but that for which Dionysius slew Antiphon, and Timagenes did fall from Cæsar's friendship; that is, play the fool and abuse his friend; he cannot give good counsel or spend an hour in wise sayings; but half a day they can talk *ut foret, unde corona cachinnum tollere possit*, to make the crowd laugh, and consider not.

And the same is the case of lust; because it is exactly contrary to Christ the king of virgins, and his Holy Spirit, who is the prince of purities and holy thoughts; it is a captivity of the reason, and an enraging of the passions, it wakens every night, and rages every day, it desires passionately, and prosecutes violently, it hinders business and distracts counsel, it brings jealousies and enkindles wars, it sins against the body, and weakens

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the soul; it defiles a temple, and drives the Holy Spirit forth, and it is so intire a prosecution of the follies and weaknesses of nature; such a snare and a bait to weak and easy fools, that it prevails infinitely, and rages horribly, and rules tyrannically; it is a very fever in the reason, and a calenture in the passions; and therefore either it must be quenched, or it will be impossible to cure our evil natures: the curing of this is not the remedy of a single evil, but it is a doing violence to our whole nature; and therefore hath in it the greatest courage and an equal conduct, and supposes spiritual strengths great enough to contest against every enemy.

4. Hitherto is to be reduced, that we avoid all flatterers and evil company; for it was impossible that Alexander should be wise and cure his pride and his drunkenness, so long as he entertained Agesius and Agnon, Bagoas and Demetrius, and slew Parmenio and Philotas, and murdered wise Callisthenes; for he that loves to be flattered, loves not to change his pleasure; but had rather to hear himself called wise, than to be so. Flattery does bribe an evil nature, and corrupt a good one; and make it love to give wrong judgment, and evil sentences: he that loves to be flattered, can never want some to abuse him, but he shall always want one to counsel him, and then he can never be wise.

5. But I must put these advices into a heap; he therefore that will cure his evil nature, must set himself against his chiefest lust, which when he hath overcome, the lesser enemies will come in of themselves. He must endeavor to reduce his affections to an indifferency; for all violence is an enemy to reason and counsel, and is that state of disease for which he is to inquire remedies.

6. It is necessary that in all actions of choice he deliberate and consider, that he may never do that for which he must ask a pardon, and he must suffer shame and smart: and therefore Cato did well reprove Aulus Albinus for writing the Roman story in the Greek tongue, of which he had but imperfect knowledge; and himself was put to make his apology for so doing: Cato told him that he was mightily in love with a fault, tha he had rather beg a pardon than be innocent. Who forced him to need the pardon? And when beforehand we know we must

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change from what we are or do worse, it is a better compendium not to enter in from whence we must uneasily retire.

7. In all the contingencies of chance and variety of action, remember that thou art the maker of thy own fortune, and of thy own sin; charge not God with it either before or after; the violence of thy own passion is no superinduced necessity from him, and the events of providence in all its strange variety can give no authority or patronage to a foul forbidden action, though the next chance of war or fortune be prosperous and rich. An Egyptian robber, sleeping under a rotten wall, was awakened by Serapis, and sent away from the ruin; but being quit from the danger, and seeing the wall to slide, he thought that the demon loved his crime, because he had so strangely preserved him from a sudden and a violent death. But Serapis told him, *Θάνατον μὲν ἄλυπον Νῦν ἔφυγες, σταυρῷ δ' ἴσθι φυλαττόμενος*, "I saved you from the wall, to reserve you for the wheel;" from a short and private death, to a painful and disgraceful; and so it is very frequently in the event of human affairs: men are saved from one death, and reserved for another; or are preserved here, to be destroyed hereafter; and they that would judge of actions by events, must stay till all events are passed, that is, till all their posterity be dead, and the sentence is given at doom's-day; in the mean time the evils of our nature are to be looked on without all accidental appendages; as they are in themselves, as they have an irregularity and disorder, an unreasonableness and a sting; and be sure to rely on nothing, but the truth of laws and promises; and take severe accounts by those lines, which God gave us on purpose to reprove our evil habits and filthy inclinations. Men that are not willing to be cured, are glad of any thing to cozen them; but the body of death cannot be taken off from us, unless we be honest in our purposes, and severe in our counsels, and take just measures, and glorify God, and set ourselves against ourselves, that we may be changed into the likeness of the sons of God.

8. Avoid all delay in the counsels of religion: because the aversation and perverseness of a child's nature may be corrected easily; but every day of indulgence and excuse increases the evil, and makes it still more natural, and still more necessary.

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9. Learn to despise the world; or, which is a better compendium in the duty, learn but truly to understand it; for it is a cozenage all the way; the head of it is a rainbow, and the face of it is flattery; its words are charms, and all its stories are false; its body is a shadow, and its hands do knit spiders' webs; it is an image and a noise, with an hyena's lip and a serpent's tail; it was given to serve the needs of our nature; and instead of doing it, it creates strange appetites, and nourishes thirsts and fevers; it brings care, and debauches our nature, and brings shame and death as the reward of all our cares. Our nature is a disease, and the world does nourish it; but if you leave to feed on such unwholesome diet, your nature reverts to its first purities, and to the entertainments of the grace of God.

4. I am now to consider, how far the infirmities of the flesh can be innocent, and consist with the Spirit of grace. For all these counsels are to be entertained into a willing spirit, and not only so, but into an active: and so long as the spirit is only willing, the weakness of the flesh will in many instances become stronger than the strengths of the spirit. For he that hath a good will, and doth not do good actions, which are required of him, is hindered, but not by God that requires them, and therefore by himself, or his worst enemy. But the measures of this question are these:

1. If the flesh hinders us of our duty, it is our enemy; and then our misery is not, that the flesh is weak, but that it is too strong; but, 2. when it abates the degrees of duty and stops its growth, or its passing on to action and effect, then it is weak, but not directly nor always criminal. But to speak particularly,

1. If our flesh hinders us of any thing that is a direct duty, and prevails on the spirit to make it do an evil action, or contract an evil habit, the man is in a state of bondage and sin: his flesh is the mother of corruption and an enemy to God. It is not enough to say, I desire to serve God, and cannot as I would: I would fain love God above all things in the world, but the flesh hath appetites of its own that must be observed: I pray to be forgiven as I forgive others; but flesh and blood cannot put up such an injury: for know that no infirmity, no

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unavoidable accident, no necessity, no poverty, no business, can hinder us from the love of God, or forgiving injuries, or being of a religious and a devout spirit: poverty and the intrigues of the world are things, that can no more hinder the spirit in these duties, than a strong enemy can hinder the sun to shine, or the clouds to drop rain. These things which God requires of us, and exacts from us with mighty penalties, these he hath made us able to perform; for he knows that we have no strength but what he gives us; and therefore, as he binds burdens on our shoulders, so he gives us strength to bear them: and therefore he that says he cannot forgive, says only that his lust is stronger than his religion; his flesh prevails on his spirit. For what necessity can a man have to curse him, whom he calls enemy? or to sue him, or kill him, or do him any spite? A man may serve all his needs of nature, though he does nothing of all this; and if he be willing, what hinders him to love, to pardon, to wish well, to desire? The willing is the doing in this case; and he that says he is willing to do his duty, but he cannot, does not understand what he says. For all the duty of the inner man consists in the actions of the will, and there they are seated, and to it all the inferior faculties obey in those things which are direct emanations and effects of will. He that desires to love God, does love him; indeed men are often cozened with pretences, and in some good mood, or warmed with a holy passion, but it signifies nothing; because they will not quit the love of God's enemies; and therefore, they do not desire what they say they do: but if the will and heart be right, and not false and dissembling, this duty is or will be done infallibly.

2. If the spirit and the heart be willing, it will pass on to outward actions in all things, where it ought or can. He that hath a charitable soul will have a charitable hand; and will give his money to the poor, as he hath given his heart to God. For these things which are in our hand, are under the power of the will, and therefore are to be commanded by it. He that says to the naked, 'Be warm and clothed,' and gives him not the garment that lies by him, or money to buy one, mocks God, and the poor, and himself. *Nequam illud verbum est, Bene*

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vult, nisi qui bene facit, said the comedy; "It is an evil saying 'He wishes well,' unless he do well."*

3. Those things which are not in our power, that is, such things in which the flesh is inculpably weak, or naturally or politically disabled, the will does the work of the outward and of the inward man; we cannot clothe Christ's body, he needs it not, and we cannot approach so sacred and separate a presence; but if we desire to do it, it is accounted as if we had. The ignorant man cannot discourse wisely and promote the interest of souls, but he can love souls, and desire their felicity: though I cannot build hospitals and colleges, or pour great sums of money into the lap of the poor, yet if I encourage others and exhort them, if I commend and promote the work, I have done the work of a holy religion. For in these and the like cases, the outward work is not always set in our power, and therefore, without our fault is omitted, and can be supplied by that which is in our power.

4. For that is the last caution concerning this question. No man is to be esteemed of a willing spirit, but he that endeavors to do the outward work, or to make all the supplies that he can; not only by the forwardness of his spirit, but by the compensation of some other charities, or devotion, or religion. 'Silver and gold have I none,' and therefore I can give you none: but I wish you well; how will that appear? Why thus, 'Such as I have, I will give you; rise up and walk.' I cannot give you God, but I can give you counsel; I cannot relieve your need, but I can relieve your sadness; I cannot cure you, but I can comfort you; I cannot take away your poverty, but I can ease your spirit; and 'God accepts us' (saith the Apostle) 'according to what a man hath, and not according to what he hath not.' Only as our desires are great, and our spirits are willing, so we shall find ways to make supply of our want of ability and expressed liberality.

> Et labor ingenium misero dedit, et sua quemque
> Advigilare sibi jussit fortuna premendo.

What the poor man's need will make him do, that also the

* Trinummus, ii. 6. 38.

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good man's charity will; it will find out ways and artificers of relief, in kind or in value; in comfort or in prayers; in doing it himself or procuring others.

Πάντα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδίδαξε πικρὴ πάντολμος ἀνάγκη.

The necessity of our fortune, and the willingness of our spirits will do all this; all that it can, and something that it cannot; 'You have relieved the saints' (saith St. Paul) 'according to your power, yea, and beyond your power;' only let us be careful in all instances, that we yield not to the weakness of the flesh, nor listen to its fair pretences; for the flesh can do more than it says, we can do more than we think we can; and if we do some violence to the flesh, to our affairs, and to the circumstances of our fortune, for the interest of our spirit, we shall make our flesh useful, and the spirit strong; the flesh and its weakness shall be no more an objection, but shall comply, and cooperate, and serve all the necessities of the spirit.

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SUMMARY OF SERMON V.

JEREMIAH, CHAP. XLVIII.—VERSE 10.

PART I.

CHRIST'S kingdom, being in order to the kingdom of his Father, must therefore be spiritual, because then it is that all things must become spiritual, not only by way of eminency, but by intire constitution and change of natures. The changed faculties, employments, and enjoyments of men, &c. in this state, dilated on. Contrast between our desires in this world and in the next.

Between these two states of natural flesh and heavenly spirit, the miseries of the world and the happiness of heaven, there is a middle state, the kingdom of grace, wrought for us by our Mediator Jesus Christ, who came to reform our nature, &c. The religion which he taught is a spiritual religion; it designs to make us spiritual, serving God not only with our hearts and affections, but with fervent, active zeal, according to the nature of things spiritual. Now though God always perfectly intended it, yet because he less perfectly required it in the law given to the Jews, they fell short in both these respects. For, 1. they rested in the outward action, thinking themselves chaste if they were not actual adulterers; and, 2. they had no holy zeal for God's glory, nor any quickness of action, excepting a few zealots, who were inflamed rather than fervent: their character dilated on. All this Christ came to mend; to teach us to do our duty, both sincerely and fervently: for if we fail in either of these respects, we do *the Lord's work deceitfully.*

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Here then is the duty of all. 1. God requires of us to serve him with a whole or intire worship and religion: 2. he requires of us to serve him with intense affections: 3. after these topics the measures of zeal and its insubordinations will be discussed.

I. He that serves God with the body, without the soul, serves him deceitfully: for God says, *My son, give me thy heart.*

First, to worship God with our souls confesses one of his glorious attributes: it declares him to be the searcher of hearts, &c.: 2. it advances the powers and concernments of his providence, and confesses him ruler of all the affairs of men: 3. it distinguishes our duty towards God from all our conversation with man, &c.: 4. he that secures the heart, secures all the rest, because that is the fountain of all moral actions: 5. to sum up many reasons in one, God by requiring the heart secures the perpetuity and perseverance of our duty, its sincerity, its integrity, and its perfection: this topic enlarged on.

Secondly, he that serves God with the soul without the body, when both can be conjoined, *doth the work of the Lord deceitfully.* God will make all due allowance for wants and infirmities; but as he hath rendered the body an apt minister to the soul, and hath given money for alms, power to protect the oppressed, knees to serve in prayer, and hands to serve our needs, the soul alone is not to work; but the body must serve the spirit; so that what one desires, the other may effect: this topic enlarged on.

Thirdly, they are *deceitful in the Lord's work*, who reserve one faculty for sin, or one sin for themselves; or one action to please their appetite, and many for religion. Doctrine of Rabbi Kimchi and other Jews on this head. Cautions against the sin of pride in our virtues. Saying of St. Augustine on this point. St. Peter was safer by his fall than by his former confidence.

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Two of the noblest Christian virtues are made to many persons a savor of death; that is, faith and charity: some men think that if they have faith, it is enough to answer all the accusations of sin, &c.; whilst others keep sin alive, and make account to pay for it; God being put to relieve his own poor, at the price of the sin of another of his servants; but the case of conscience in this particular is as follows. Charity is a certain cure of sins that are past, not that are present. He that repents, and quits his sins, and then relieves the poor, turns his former crimes to holiness. Faith is the remedy of all our evils; but then it must be faith with repentance at first, faith with charity at last. The larger ingredient of virtue and evil actions will prevail; but this is only when virtue is habitual, and sins are single, casual, and seldom committed; without choice and affection: this topic enlarged on.

Fourthly: there is one deceit more in the matter of the extension of our duty, destroying the integrity of its constitution: for they do the work of God deceitfully, who think that he is sufficiently served by abstinence from evil, and who strive not for the acquisition of holy charity and religion. Observation of Clemens Alexandrinus on this point, regarding the Pharisees: topic enlarged on.

Fifthly, those are deceitful workers, who promise to God, but mean not to pay what they once intended; people that are confident in the day of ease, and fail in that of danger; they that pray passionately for a grace, and if it be not obtained at that price, go no farther; such as delight in outward forms, and regard not the substance or design of an institution; &c. Conclusion.

PART II.

II. The next inquiry is into the intenseness of our duty: and here it will not be amiss to change the word *deceitfully*,

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as some Latin copies do, into *negligently*; implying that as our duty must be *whole*, so it must be *fervent*. Animated description given of persons whose affections in religious duty are lukewarm and languid. God is said to hate such a fixed state even worse than that of frigid indifference: wherefore it must contain some peculiar evils. These displayed.

1. It is a state of the greatest imprudence: for it makes a man to spend his labor for that which profits not, and to deny his appetite for an unsatisfying interest: he puts his monies into a broken bag, and thus loses the principal for not increasing the interest: this topic enlarged on.

2. The second appendant evil is, that lukewarmness is the occasion of greater evil; because the remiss and easy Christian shuts the gate against the heavenly breathings of God's Holy Spirit; he is tempted to security: whoever slips in his spiritual walking, does not presently fall; but if that slip does not awaken his diligence and caution, then his ruin begins.

3. A state of lukewarmness is more incorrigible than a state of coldness; while men flatter themselves that their state is good; that they are rich and need nothing; that their lamps are dressed: character of such persons dilated on.

It concerns us next to inquire concerning the duty in its proper instances; in faith, in prayer, and in charity.

I. Our faith must be strong, active, patient, reasonable, and unalterable; without doubting, fear, or partiality.

1. Our faith and persuasions in religion are most commonly imprinted in us by our country, &c. But whatever it was that brought us into it, we must take care, when we are in, that our faith stand on its proper and most reasonable foundations.

2. The faith and the whole religion of many men is the production of fear: that is but a deceitful and lukewarm faith which a man wants courage to disbelieve.

3. The faith of many is such, that they dare not trust it: they will talk of it and serve their vanity or interests by it; but

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in any emergency they dare not trust it. Speech of Antisthenes to the Orphic priest recorded.

4. Some measure their faith by shows and appearances, by ceremonies, professions, and little institutions. But the faith of a Christian has no signification at all except obedience and charity: this enlarged on.

II. Our prayers and devotions must be fervent and zealous, supported by a patient spirit, set forwards by importunity, continued by perseverance, carried along by strong but holy desires, and ballasted by resignation to the divine will: then they are as God likes them, and do the work to God's glory and our interest effectively: this topic enlarged on. Lukewarm and fervent prayer contrasted under the similitudes of a sluggish creeping brook, and of a full and rapid stream.

III. Our charity also must be fervent. Our duty to God should be very pleasing to us: it must pass on to action, and do the action vigorously: it is called in Scripture *the labor* and travail *of love*. He that loves passionately will do not only what his friend needs, but what he himself can: this topic enlarged on.

Consideration concerning the degrees of intention and forward zeal.

1. No man is fervent and zealous as he ought to be, but he that prefers religion before business, charity before his own ease, the relief of his brother before money, and God before his friend or interest. Which rule is not to be understood absolutely, and in particular instances, but always generally; and when it descends to particulars, it must be in proportion to circumstances, and by their proper measures: this fully shown.

2. To the fervor and zeal which is necessary, it is required that constancy and perseverance be added. *Be faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life*, said the Spirit of God to the angel of the Church of Smyrna. He that is warm

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to-day and cold to-morrow, hath not yet well chosen what side he will be of, does not see reason enough for religion, and has not confidence enough for its contrary; and therefore he is, as St. James says, *of a doubtful mind:* this topic enlarged on.

3. No man is zealous as he ought, but he who delights in the service of God: without this no man can persevere, but must faint under the pressure of an uneasy load. If he goes to his prayers as children go to school, if he gives alms like those who pay contributions, and meditates with the same willingness as young men die, such an one "acts a part which he cannot long personate, but will soon find out many excuses to desert his duty:" this topic dilated on to the end.

PART III.

So long as our zeal in religion hath only the above-mentioned constituted parts, it hath no more than can keep the duty alive: but beyond this there are many degrees of earnestness, which are progressions towards perfection: of this sort is reckoned frequency in prayer, and alms above our estate. Concerning these instances two cautions are given.

1. Concerning frequency in prayer, it is an act of zeal so ready and prepared, so easy and so fitted to every man's affairs, necessities, and possibilities, that he who prays but seldom, cannot in any sense pretend to be a religious person. Exhortations of Scripture on this head. The many things which urge a man to pray, recounted. The activity of Satan to hinder us in this duty pointed out, and the reasons of it. Utility of acquiring a habit of prayer, and the pleasure gained thereby. Caution above referred to, on this point, viz. that frequency in prayer, and that part of zeal which relates to it, must proceed only from a holy spirit, a wise heart, and a reasonable persuasion; not from passion or fear, imitation, desire of fame, &c. else it will be unblessed and unprosperous: if there-

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fore it happen to begin on a weak principle, we must be careful to change the motive. Also, when you are entered into a state of zealous prayer and regular devotion, whatever interruptions you meet with, observe their causes, and be sure to make them irregular, seldom, and contingent: this enlarged on.

2. Concerning the second instance named, namely "to give alms above our estate," it is an excellent act of zeal, and needs no other caution to make it secure from illusion and danger, but that we should not let our egressions of charity prejudice justice. See that thy alms do not other men wrong, and they will never hurt thee by their abundance: this topic discussed, and our duty towards our own family, in this point of view, defined. Various other acts of self-dedication, self-devotion, austerity, liberality, and protection afforded to others, referred to this head.

3. The proper measures to be observed in acts of zeal, by which it will become safe and holy.

1. The first measure, by which our zeal may comply with our duty, and its actions become laudable, is charity to our neighbor; in which we particularly glorify God by imitating him: this charity in spiritual matters dilated on. Powers and ministries given to us all by God to promote his religion, and the good of other men's souls; this ought to be the object of frequent self-examination: method of this charity dilated on. Caution given, that zeal for our neighbor's amendment be only expressed in ways of kindness, not of cruelty or importunate justice: persecution through zeal for religion condemned: all bitterness of zeal reproved. Christ's reproof to Peter for drawing his sword. Zeal of the Jews for their religion commented: that of the Apostles contrasted with it.

2. The next measure of zeal is prudence; for as charity is the matter of zeal, so is discretion the manner. Let the end be consonant to the design; let charity be intended, and charity be done.

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But there is also a zeal for religion or worship: and this hath more need of caution; for religion can be turned into a snare and abused into superstition, &c. Evils of this dilated on.

Therefore, 1. our zeal must never carry us beyond that which is profitable. There are many institutions and customs introduced into religion on very fair motives, and adapted to great necessities: but to imitate them when disrobed of their proper ends, is an importune and imprudent zeal: this applied to celibacy and to fasting. 2. Our zeal must never carry us beyond that which is safe: to some persons, at their first entry on religion, no repentance seems sharp enough, no charities expensive enough, no fastings afflictive enough, &c.; but the event is, that this passionate spirit evaporates; and indignation, hatred of holy things, carelessness, or despair succeeds to it. 3. Let zeal never transport us to attempt any thing but what is possible. Vow of M. Teresa: the spirit must be secured by the proper nature of the duty, the circumstances of the action, and the possibilities of the man. 4. Zeal is not safe, unless it be exercised *in a likely matter:* this is necessary to prevent scruples and snares, shameful retreats, and new fantastic principles. In all our undertakings, we must consider what is our state of life, our natural inclinations, our society and dependencies; by what necessities we are depressed; by what hopes we are biassed: by these let us measure our hearts and their proper business. Return of the subject to exhortations in the cause of zeal.

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SERMON V.

OF LUKEWARMNESS AND ZEAL; OR, SPIRITUAL FERVOR.

JEREMIAH, CHAP. XLVIII.—VERSE 10.

Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully.

PART I.

CHRIST'S kingdom,—being in order to the kingdom of his Father, which shall be manifest at the day of judgment,—must therefore be spiritual; because then it is that all things must become spiritual, not only by way of eminency, but by intire constitution and perfect change of natures. Men shall be like angels, and angels shall be comprehended in the lap of spiritual and eternal felicities; the soul shall not understand by material phantasms, neither be served by the provisions of the body, but the body itself shall become spiritual, and the eye shall see intellectual objects, and the mouth shall feed on hymns and glorifications of God; the belly shall be then made satisfied by the fulness of righteousness, and the tongue shall speak nothing but praises, and the propositions of a celestial wisdom; the motion shall be the swiftness of an angel, and it shall be clothed with white as with a garment: holiness is the sun, and righteousness is the moon in that region; our society shall be choirs of singers, and our conversation wonder; contemplation shall be our food, and love shall be "the wine of elect souls." And as to every natural appetite, there is now proportioned an object, crass, material, unsatisfying, and allayed with sorrow and uneasiness: so there be new capacities

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and equal objects; the desires shall be fruition, and the appetite shall not suppose want, but a faculty of delight, and an immeasurable complacency: the will and the understanding, love and wonder, joys every day and the same for ever; this shall be their state who shall be accounted worthy of the resurrection to this life; where the body shall be a partner, but no servant; where it shall have no work of its own, but it shall rejoice with the soul; where the soul shall rule without resistance or an enemy: and we shall be fitted to enjoy God who is the Lord and Father of spirits. In this world we see it is quite contrary: we long for perishing meat, and fill our stomachs with corruption; we look after white and red, and the weaker beauties of the night; we are passionate after rings and seals, and enraged at the breaking of a crystal; we delight in the society of fools and weak persons; we laugh at sin and contrive mischiefs; and the body rebels against the soul and carries the cause against all its just pretences; and our soul itself is, above half of it, earth and stone, in its affections and distempers; our hearts are hard and inflexible to the softer whispers of mercy and compassion, having no loves for any thing but strange flesh, and heaps of money, and popular noises, for misery and folly; and therefore we are a huge way off from the kingdom of God, whose excellences, whose designs, whose ends, whose constitution, is spiritual and holy, and separate and sublime and perfect. Now between these two states of natural flesh and heavenly spirit, that is, the powers of darkness and the regions of light, the miseries of man and the perfections of God; the imperfection of nature where we stand by our creation, and supervening follies, and that state of felicities, whither we are designed by the mercies of God,—there is a middle state, 'the kingdom of grace,' wrought for us by our Mediator, the man Christ Jesus, who came to perfect the virtue of religion, and the designs of God, and to reform our nature, and to make it possible for us to come to that spiritual state where all felicity does dwell. The religion that Christ taught is a spiritual religion; its designs (so far as this state can permit) to make us spiritual; that is, so as the Spirit be the prevailing ingredient. God must now be worshipped in spirit, and not only so, but with a fervent spirit; and though God in

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all religions did seize on the spirit, and even under Moses' law did, by the shadow of the ceremony, require the substantial worship, and, by cutting off the flesh, intended the circumcision of the heart: yet because they were to mind the outward action, it took off much from the intention and activity of the spirit; man could not do both busily. And then they failed also in the other part of a spiritual religion; for the nature of a spiritual religion is, that in it we serve God with our hearts and affections; and because while the spirit prevails, we do not to evil purposes of abatement converse with flesh and blood, this service is also fervent, intense, active, wise, and busy, according to the nature of things spiritual. Now because God always perfectly intended it, yet because he less perfectly required it in the law of Moses, I say they fell short in both.

For, 1. they so rested in the outward action, that they thought themselves chaste if they were no adulterers, though their eyes were wanton as kids, and their thoughts polluted as the springs of the wilderness, when a panther and a lioness descend to drink and lust; and if they did not rob the temple, they accounted it no sin if they murmured at the riches of religion; and Josephus reproves Polybius for saying that Antiochus was punished for having a design of sacrilege; and therefore Tertullian says of them, they were *nec plenæ, nec adeo timendæ disciplinæ ad innocentiæ veritatem;* this was 'their righteousness,' which Christ said unless we will 'exceed, we shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven,' where all spiritual perfections are in state and excellency.

2. The other part of a spiritual worship is a fervor and a holy zeal of God's glory, greatness of desire, and quickness of action: of all this the Jews were not careful at all, excepting the zealots amongst them, and they were not only fervent but inflamed; and they had the earnestness of passion for the holy warmth of religion, and instead of an earnest charity they had a cruel discipline, and for fraternal correction they did destroy a sinning Israelite: and by both these evil states of religion they did 'the work of the Lord deceitfully;' they either gave him the action without the heart, or zeal without charity, or religion without zeal, or ceremony without religion, or indiffer-

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ency without desires; and then God is served by the outward man and not the inward; or by part of the inward and not all; by the understanding and not by the will; or by the will when the affections are cold and the body unapt, and the lower faculties in rebellion, and the superior in disorder, and the work of God is left imperfect, and our persons ungracious, and our ends unacquired, and the state of a spiritual kingdom not at all set forward towards any hope or possibility of being obtained. All this Christ came to mend; and by his laws did make provision that God should be served intirely, according as God always designed, and accordingly required by his prophets, and particularly in my text, that his work be done sincerely, and our duty with great affection; and by these two provisions, both the intention and the extension are secured: our duty shall be intire, and it shall be perfect, we shall be neither hot nor cold, without a limb, nor without natural heat, and then 'the work of the Lord will prosper in our hands:' but if we fail in either, we do 'the Lord's work deceitfully,' and then we are accursed. For so saith the Spirit of God, 'Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord deceitfully.'

Here then is the duty of us all: 1. God requires of us to serve him with an integral, intire, or a whole worship and religion. 2. God requires of us to serve him with earnest and intense affections; the intire purpose of both which I shall represent in its several parts by so many propositions. 3. I shall consider concerning the measures of zeal and its inordinations.

1. He that serves God with the body without the soul, serves God deceitfully. 'My son, give me thy heart;' and though I cannot think that nature was so sacramental as to point out the holy and mysterious Trinity by the triangle of the heart, yet it is certain that the heart of man is God's special portion, and every angle ought to point out towards him directly; that is, the soul of man ought to be presented to God, and given him as an oblation to the interest of his service.

1. For, to worship God with our souls confesses one of his glorious attributes; it declares him to be the searcher of hearts, and that he reads the secret purposes, and beholds the smallest arrests of fancy, and bends in all the flexures and in-

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trigues of crafty people; and searches out every plot and trifling conspiracy against him, and against ourselves, and against our brethren.

2. It advances the powers and concernments of his providence, and confesses all the affairs of men, all their cabinets and their nightly counsels, their snares and two-edged mischiefs to be overruled by him; for what he sees he judges, and what he judges he rules, and what he rules must turn to his glory; and of this glory he reflects rays and influences on his servants, and it shall also turn to their good.

3. This service distinguishes our duty towards God from all our conversation with man, and separates the Divine commandments from the imperfect decrees of princes and republics: for these are satisfied by the outward work, and cannot take any other cognisance of the heart, and the will of man, but as himself is pleased to signify. He that wishes the *fiscus* empty, and that all the revenues of the crown were in his counting-house, cannot be punished by the laws, unless himself become his own traitor and accuser; and therefore what man cannot discern, he must not judge, and must not require. But God sees it, and judges it, and requires it, and therefore reserves this as his own portion, and the chiefest feudal right of his crown.

4. He that secures the heart, secures all the rest; because this is the principle of all the moral actions of the whole man, and the hand obeys this, and the feet walk by its prescriptions; we eat and drink by measures which the soul desires and limits; and though the natural actions of men are not subject to choice and rule, yet the animal actions are under discipline; and although it cannot be helped that we shall desire, yet our desires can receive measures, and the laws of circumstances, and be reduced to order, and nature be changed into grace, and the actions animal (such as are, eating, drinking, laughing, weeping, &c.) shall become actions of religion; and those that are simply natural (such as, being hungry and thirsty) shall be adopted into the retinue of religion, and become religious by being ordered or chastised, or suffered, or directed; and therefore God requires the heart, because he requires all; and all cannot be secured, without the principle be inclosed. But he

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that seals up a fountain, may drink up all the waters alone, and may best appoint the channel where it shall run, and what grounds it shall refresh.

5. That I may sum up many reasons in one; God by requiring the heart secures the perpetuity and perseverance of our duty, and its sincerity, and its integrity, and its perfection: for so also God takes account of little things; it being all one in the heart of man, whether maliciously it omits a duty in a small instance or in a great; for although the expression hath variety and degrees in it, in relation to those purposes of usefulness and charity whither God designs it, yet the obedience and disobedience are all one, and shall be equally accounted for; and therefore the Jew Tryphon disputed against Justin, that the precepts of the gospel were impossible to be kept, because it also requiring the heart of man, did stop every egression of disorders: for making the root holy and healthful, as the balsam of Judea, or the drops of manna in the evening of the sabbath; it also causes that nothing spring thence but gums fit for incense, and oblations for the altar of proposition, and a cloud of perfume fit to make atonement for our sins; and being united to the great sacrifice of the world, to reconcile God and man together. On these reasons you see it is highly fit that God should require it, and that we should pay the sacrifice of our hearts; and not at all think that God is satisfied with the work of the hands, when the affections of the heart are absent. He that prays because he would be quiet, and would fain be quit of it, and communicates for fear of the laws, and comes to church to avoid shame, and gives alms to be eased of an importunate beggar, or relieves his old parents because they will not die in their time, and provides for his children lest he be compelled by laws and shame, but yet complains of the charge of God's blessings; this man is a servant of the eyes of men, and offers parchment or a white skin in sacrifice, but the flesh and the inwards he leaves to be consumed by a stranger fire. And therefore, this is a deceit that robs God of the best, and leaves that for religion which men pare off: it is sacrilege, and brings a double curse.

2. He that serves God with the soul without the body, when both can be conjoined, 'doth the work of the Lord deceit-

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fully.'—Paphnutius, whose knees were cut for the testimony of Jesus, was not obliged to worship with the humble flexures of the bending penitents: and blind Bartimeus could not read the holy lines of the law, and therefore that part of the work was not his duty; and God shall not call Lazarus to account for not giving alms, nor St. Peter and St. John for not giving silver and gold to the lame man, nor Epaphroditus for not keeping his fasting-days when he had his sickness. But when God hath made the body an apt minister to the soul, and hath given money for alms, and power to protect the oppressed, and knees to serve in prayer, and hands to serve our needs, then the soul alone is not to work; but as Rachel gave her maid to Jacob, and she bore children to her lord on her mistress's knees; and the children were reckoned to them both, because the one had fruitful desires, and the other a fruitful womb: so must the body serve the needs of the spirit; that what the one desires the other may effect, and the conceptions of the soul may be the productions of the body, and the body must bow when the soul worships, and the hand must help when the soul pities, and both together do the work of a holy religion: the body alone can never serve God without the conjunction and preceding act of the soul; and sometimes the soul without the body is imperfect and vain; for in some actions there is a body and a spirit, a material and a spiritual part: and when the action hath the same constitution that a man hath, without the act of both, it is as imperfect as a dead man; the soul cannot produce the body of some actions any more than the body can put life into it; and therefore an ineffective pity and a lazy counsel, an empty blessing and gay words, are but deceitful charity.

Quod peto, da, Cai; non peto consilium. Mart. ii. 30.

He that gave his friend counsel to study the law, when he desired to borrow twenty pounds, was not so friendly in his counsel as he was useless in his charity; spiritual acts can cure a spiritual malady; but if my body needs relief, because you cannot feed me with diagrams, or clothe me with Euclid's Elements, you must minister a real supply by a corporal charity to my corporal necessity. This proposition is not only useful in

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the doctrine of charity, and the virtue of religion, but in the professions of faith, and requires that it be public, open, and ingenuous. In matters of necessary duty it is not sufficient to have it to ourselves, but we must also have it to God, and all the world; and as in the heart we believe, so by the mouth we confess unto salvation: he is an ill man that is only a Christian in his heart, and is not so in his profession and publications; and as your heart must not be wanting in any good professions and pretences, so neither must public profession be wanting in every good and necessary persuasion. The faith and the cause of God must be owned publicly; for if it be the cause of God, it will never bring us to shame. I do not say, whatever we think we must tell it to all the world, much less at all times, and in all circumstances; but we must never deny that which we believe to be the cause of God, in such circumstances, in which we can and ought to glorify him. But this extends also to other instances. He that swears a false oath with his lips, and unswears it with his heart, hath deceived one more than he thinks for; himself is the most abused person; and when my action is contrary to men, they will reprove me; but when it is against my own persuasion, I cannot but reprove myself; and am witness, and accuser, and party, and guilty, and then God is the judge, and his anger will be a fierce executioner, because we do the Lord's work deceitfully.

3. They are 'deceitful in the Lord's work,' that reserve one faculty for sin, or one sin for themselves; or one action to please their appetite, and many for religion.—Rabbi Kimchi taught his scholars, *Cogitationem pravam Deus non habet vice facti, nisi concepta fuerit in Dei fidem et religionem;* 'That God is never angry with an evil thought, unless it be a thought of apostasy from the Jews' religion;' and therefore, provided that men be severe and close in their sect and party, they might roll in lustful thoughts; and the torches they light up in the temple might smoke with anger at one end, and lust at the other, so they did not flame out in egressions of violence and injustice, in adulteries and fouler complications: nay, they would give leave to some degrees of evil actions; for R. Moses and Selomoh taught, that if the most part of the man's actions were holy and just, though in one he sinned often, yet the greater ingredient

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should prevail, and the number of good works should outweigh the lesser account of evil things; and this pharisaical righteousness is too frequent even among Christians. For who almost is there that does not count fairly concerning himself, if he reckons many virtues on the stock of his religion, and but one vice on the stock of his infirmity; half a dozen to God, and one for his company, or his friend; his education or his appetite? And if he hath parted from his folly, yet he will remember the flesh-pots, and please himself with a fantastic sin, and call it home through the gates of his memory, and place it at the door of fancy, that there he may behold it, and consider concerning what he hath parted withal, out of the fears and terrors of religion, and a necessary unavoidable conscience. Do not many men go from sin to sin, even in their repentance? they go backward from sin to sin, and change their crime as a man changes his uneasy load, and shakes it off from one shoulder to support it with the other. How many severe persons, virgins, and widows are so pleased with their chastity, and their abstinence even from lawful mixtures, that by this means they fall into a worse pride? Insomuch that I remember St. Augustine said, *Audeo dicere superbis continentibus expedit cadere*, "They that are chaste and proud, it is sometimes a remedy for them to fall into sin," and by the shame of lust to cure the devil of pride, and by the sin of the body to cure the worser evils of the spirit; and therefore he adds, that he did believe God in a severe mercy did permit the barbarous nations, breaking in on the Roman empire, to violate many virgins professed in cloisters and religious families to be as a mortification of their pride, lest the accidental advantages of a continent life should bring them into the certain miseries of a spiritual death, by taking away their humility, which was more necessary than their virgin-state; it is not a cure that men may use, but God permits it sometimes with greater safety through his wise conduct and overruling providence; St. Peter was safer by his fall (as it fell out in the event of things) than by his former confidence. Man must never cure a sin by a sin; but he that brings good out of our evil he can when he please. But I speak it, to represent how deceitfully many times we do the work of the Lord. We reprove a sinning brother, but do it with a pompous spirit; we

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separate from scandal, and do it with glory, and a gaudy heart; we are charitable to the poor, but will not forgive our unkind enemies; or, we pour relief into their bags, but we please ourselves and drink drunk, and hope to commute with God, giving the fruit of our labors or effluxes of money for the sin of our souls: and on this account it is, that two of the noblest graces of a Christian are to very many persons made a savor of death, though they were intended for the beginning and the promotion of an eternal life; and those are faith and charity: some men think if they have faith, it is enough to answer all the accusations of sin, which our consciences or the devils make against us; if I be a wanton person, yet my faith shall hide it, and faith shall cover the follies of drunkenness, and I may all my life rely on faith, at last to quit my scores. For he that is most careful is not innocent, but must be saved by faith; and he that is least careful may have faith, and that will save him. But because these men mistake concerning faith, and consider not that charity or a good life is a part of that faith that saves us, they hope to be saved by the word, they fill their bellies with the story of Trimalcion's banquet, and drink drunk with the news of wine; they eat shadows, and when they are drowning, catch at the image of trees, which hang over the water, and are reflected from the bottom.

But thus many men do with charity; 'Give alms and all things shall be clean unto you,' said our blessed Saviour: and therefore, many keep a sin alive, and make account to pay for it, and God shall be put to relieve his own poor at the price of the sin of another of his servants; charity shall take lust or intemperance into protection, and men will not be kind to their brethren, unless they will be also at the same time unkind to God. I have understood concerning divers vicious persons, that none have been so free in their donatives and offerings to religion and the priest as they: and the hospitals that have been built, and the highways mended at the price of souls, are too many for Christendom to boast of in behalf of charity. But as others mistake concerning faith, so these do concerning its twin-sister. The first had faith without charity, and these have charity without hope; 'For every one that hath this hope,' that is, the hope of receiving the glorious things of God pro-

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mised in the gospel, 'purifies himself even as God is pure;' faith and charity too, must both suppose repentance; and repentance is the abolition of the whole body of sin, the purification of the whole man. But the sum of the doctrine and case of conscience in this particular is this.

1. Charity is a certain cure of sins that are past, not that are present. He that repents and leaves his sin, and then relieves the poor, and pays for his folly by a diminution of his own estate, and the supplies of the poor, and his ministering to Christ's poor members, turns all his former crimes into holiness; he purges the stains and makes amends for his folly, and commutes for the baser pleasure with a more noble usage: so said Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar, 'Break off thy sins by righteousness, and thine iniquities by showing mercy to the poor:'* first be just, and then be charitable; for it is pity, alms—which is one of the noblest services of God, and the greatest mercy to thy brother—should be spent on sin, and thrown away on folly.

2. Faith is the remedy of all our evils; but then, it is never of force, but when we either have endeavored or undertaken to do all good; this in baptism, that after: faith and repentance at first; and faith and charity at last; and, because we fail often by infirmity, and sometimes by inadvertency; sometimes by a surprise, and often by omission; and all this even in the midst of a sincere endeavor to live justly, and perfectly; therefore the passion of our Lord pays for this, and faith lays hold on that. But without a hearty and sincere intent, and vigorous prosecution of all the parts of our duty, faith is but a word, not so much as a cover to a naked bosom, nor a pretence big enough to deceive persons that are not willing to be cozened.

3. The bigger ingredient of virtue and evil actions will prevail, but it is only when virtue is habitual, and sins are single, interrupted, casual, and seldom, without choice and without affection; that is, when our repentance is so timely, that it can work for God more than we served under the tyranny of sin; so that if you will account the whole life of man, the rule is good, and the greater ingredient shall prevail; and he shall

* Dan. iv. 27.

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certainly be pardoned and accepted, whose life is so reformed, whose repentance is so active, whose return is so early, that he hath given bigger portions to God, than to God's enemy. But if we account so, as to divide the measures in present possession, the bigger part cannot prevail; a small or a seldom sin spoils not the sea of piety; but when the affection is divided, a little ill destroys the whole body of good; the cup in a man's right hand must be ἄκρατος κεκερασμένος, it must be "pure, although it be mingled;" that is, the whole affection must be for God, that must be pure and unmingled; if sin mingles in seldom and unapproved instances, the drops of water are swallowed up with a whole vintage of piety, and the bigger ingredient is the prevailing; in all other cases it is not so: for one sin that we choose and love and delight in, will not be excused by twenty virtues: and as one broken link dissolves the union of the whole chain, and one jarring untuned string spoils the whole music; so is every sin that seizes on a portion of our affections; if we love one, that one destroys the acceptation of all the rest: and as it is in faith, so it is in charity. He that is a heretic in one article, hath no saving faith in the whole; and so does every vicious habit, or unreformed sin, destroy the excellency of the grace of charity; a wilful error in one article is heresy, and every vice in one instance is malice, and they are perfectly contrary, and a direct darkness to the two eyes of the soul, faith and charity.

4. There is one deceit more yet, in the matter of the extension of our duty, destroying the integrity of its constitution: for they do the work of God deceitfully, who think God sufficiently served with abstinence from evil, and converse not in the acquisition and pursuit of holy charity and religion. This Clemens Alexandrinus affirms of the Pharisees; they were μετὰ ἀποχὴν κακῶν δικαιούμενοι, they hoped to be "justified by abstinence from things forbidden;" but if we will be βασιλικοὶ, "sons of the kingdom," we must μετὰ τῆς ἐν τούτοις τελειώσεως, καὶ τὸν πλησίον ἀγαπᾶν, καὶ εὐεργετεῖν: besides this, and "supposing a proportionable perfection in such an innocence, we must love our brother and do good to him," and glorify God by a holy religion, in the communion of saints, in faith and sacraments, in alms and counsel, in forgivenesses and assistances.

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'Flee from evil, and do the thing that is good, and dwell for evermore,' said the Spirit of God in the Psalms: and St. Peter, 'Having escaped the corruption that is in the world through lust, give all diligence to add to your faith virtue, to virtue patience, to patience godliness, and brotherly-kindness, and charity:' many persons think themselves fairly assoiled, because they are no adulterers, no rebels, no drunkards, not of scandalous lives; in the mean time, like the Laodiceans, they are 'naked and poor;' they have no catalogue of good things registered in heaven, no treasures in the repositories of the poor, neither have the poor often prayed concerning them, 'Lord, remember thy servants for this thing at the day of judgment.' A negative religion is in many things the effects of laws, and the appendage of sexes, the product of education, the issues of company and of the public, or the daughter of fear and natural modesty, or their temper and constitution, and civil relations, common fame, or necessary interest. Few women swear and do the debaucheries of drunkards; and they are guarded from adulterous complications by spies and shame, by fear and jealousy, by the concernment of families and reputation of their kindred, and therefore they are to account with God beyond this civil and necessary innocence, for humility and patience, for religious fancies and tender consciences, for tending the sick and dressing the poor, for governing their house and nursing their children; and so it is in every state of life. When a prince or prelate, a noble and a rich person, hath reckoned all his immunities and degrees of innocence from those evils that are incident to inferior persons, or the worse sort of their own order, they do 'the work of the Lord,' and their own too, 'very deceitfully,' unless they account correspondences of piety to all their powers and possibilities: they are to reckon and consider concerning what oppressions they have relieved, what causes and what fatherless they have defended, how the work of God and of religion, of justice and charity, hath thrived in their hands. If they have made peace, and encouraged religion by their example and by their laws, by rewards and collateral encouragements, if they have been zealous for God and for religion, if they have employed ten talents to the improvement of God's bank, then they have done

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God's work faithfully; if they account otherwise, and account only by ciphers and negatives, they can expect only the rewards of innocent slaves; they shall escape the *furca* and the wheel, the torments of lustful persons, and the crown of flames, that is reserved for the ambitious; or they shall be not gnawn with the vipers of the envious, or the shame of the ungrateful; but they can never on this account hope for the crowns of martyrs, or the honorable rewards of saints, the coronets of virgins, and chaplets of doctors and confessors: and though murderers and lustful persons, the proud and the covetous, the heretic and schismatic, are to expect flames and scorpions, pains and smart (*pœnam sensus*, the schools call it); yet the lazy and the imperfect, the harmless sleeper and the idle worker, shall have *pœnam damni*, the loss of all his hopes, and the dishonors of the loss; and in the sum of affairs it will be no great difference whether we have loss or pain, because there can be no greater pain imaginable than to lose the sight of God to eternal ages.

5. Hither are to be reduced as deceitful workers, those that promise to God, but mean not to pay what they once intended; people that are confident in the day of ease, and fail in the danger; they that pray passionately for a grace, and if it be not obtained at that price go no farther, and never contend in action for what they seem to contend in prayer; such as delight in forms and outsides, and regard not the substance and design of every institution; that think it a great sin to taste bread before the receiving the holy sacrament, and yet come to communicate with an ambitious and revengeful soul; that make a conscience of eating flesh, but not of drunkenness; that keep old customs and old sins together; that pretend one duty to excuse another; religion against charity, or piety to parents against duty to God, private promises against public duty, the keeping of an oath against breaking of a commandment, honor against modesty, reputation against piety, the love of the world in civil instances to countenance enmity against God; these are the deceitful workers of God's work; they make a schism in the duties of religion, and a war in heaven worse than that between Michael and the dragon; for they divide the Spirit of God, and distinguish his commandments into parties and

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factions; by seeking an excuse, sometimes they destroy the integrity and perfect constitution of duty, or they do something whereby the effect and usefulness of the duty is hindered: concerning all which this only can be said, they who serve God with a lame sacrifice and an imperfect duty defective in its constituent parts, can never enjoy God, because he can never be divided: and though it be better to enter into heaven with one foot, and one eye, than that both should be cast into hell, because heaven can make recompense for this loss; yet nothing can repair his loss, who for being lame in his duty shall enter into hell, where nothing is perfect, but the measures and duration of torment, and they both are next to infinite.

SERMON V.

PART II.

THE next inquiry, is into the intention of our duty: and here it will not be amiss to change the word *fraudulenter*, or *dolose*, into that which some of the Latin copies do use, *Maledictus, qui facit opus Dei negligenter:* "Cursed is he, that doth the work of the Lord *negligently*, or remissly:" and it implies, that as our duty must be whole, so it must be fervent; for a languishing body may have all its parts, and yet be useless to many purposes of nature: and you may reckon all the joints of a dead man, but the heart is cold, and the joints are stiff and fit for nothing but for the little people that creep in graves: and so are very many men; if you sum up the accounts of their religion, they can reckon days and months of religion, various offices, charity and prayers, reading and meditation, faith and knowlege, catechism and sacraments, duty to God and duty to princes, paying debts and provision for children, confessions and tears, discipline in families, and love of good people; and, it may be, you shall not reprove their numbers, or find any lines unfilled in their tables of accounts; but when you have handled

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all this and considered, you will find at last you have taken a dead man by the hand; there is not a finger wanting, but they are stiff as icicles, and without flexure as the legs of elephants: such are they whom St. Bernard describes, "Whose spiritual joy is allayed with tediousness, whose compunction for sins is short and seldom, whose thoughts are animal and their designs secular, whose religion is lukewarm; their obedience is without devotion, their discourse without profit, their prayer without intention of heart, their reading without instruction, their meditation is without spiritual advantages, and is not the commencement and strengthening of holy purposes; and they are such whom modesty will not restrain, nor reason bridle, nor discipline correct, nor the fear of death and hell can keep from yielding to the imperiousness of a foolish lust, that dishonors a man's understanding, and makes his reason, in which he most glories, to be weaker than the discourse of a girl, and the dreams of the night." In every action of religion God expects such a warmth and a holy fire to go along, that it may be able to enkindle the wood on the altar, and consume the sacrifice; but God hates an indifferent spirit. Earnestness and vivacity, quickness and delight, perfect choice of the service, and a delight in the prosecution, is all that the spirit of a man can yield towards his religion: the outward work is the effect of the body; but if a man does it heartily and with all his mind, then religion hath wings and moves on wheels of fire; and therefore, when our blessed Saviour made those capitulars and canons of religion, to 'love God,' and to 'love our neighbor;' besides, that the material part of the duty, 'love,' is founded in the spirit, as its natural seat, he also gives three words to involve the spirit in the action, and but one for the body: 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;' and, lastly, 'with all thy strength:' this brings in the body too; because it hath some strength, and some signification of its own; but heart and soul and mind mean all the same thing in a stronger and more earnest expression; that is, that we do it hugely, as much as we can, with a clear choice, with a resolute understanding, with strong affections, with great diligence: *Enerves animos odisse virtus solet*, 'Virtue hates weak and ineffective minds,' and

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tame easy prosecutions; loripedes, people whose arm is all flesh, 'whose foot is all leather,' and an unsupporting skin; they creep like snakes, and pursue the noblest mysteries of religion, as Naaman did the mysteries of Rimmon, only in a compliment, or for secular regards; but without the mind, and therefore without zeal: 'I would thou wert either hot or cold,' said the Spirit of God to the Angel or Bishop of Laodicea. In feasts or sacrifices the ancients did use *apponere frigidam*, or *calidam;* sometimes they drank hot drink, sometimes they poured cold on their graves or in their wines, but no services of tables or altars were ever with lukewarm. God hates it worse than stark cold; which expression is the more considerable, because in natural and superinduced progressions, from extreme to extreme, we must necessarily pass through the midst; and therefore, it is certain, a lukewarm religion is better than none at all, as being the doing some parts of the work designed, and nearer to perfection than the utmost distance could be; and yet that God hates it more, must mean, that there is some appendant evil in this state which is not in the other, and that accidentally it is much worse: and so it is, if we rightly understand it; that is, if we consider it, not as a being in, or passing through the middle way, but as a state and a period of religion. If it be in motion, a lukewarm religion is pleasing to God; for God hates it not for its imperfection, and its natural measures of proceeding; but if it stands still and rests there, it is a state against the designs, and against the perfection of God: and it hath in it these evils:

1. It is a state of the greatest imprudence in the world; for it makes a man to spend his labor for that which profits not, and to deny his appetite for an unsatisfying interest; he puts his monies in a napkin, and he that does so, puts them into a broken bag; he loses the principal for not increasing the interest. He that dwells in a state of life that is unacceptable, loses the money of his alms, and the rewards of his charity, his hours of prayer, and his parts of justice, he confesses his sins and is not pardoned, he is patient but hath no hope, and he that is gone so far out of his country, and stands in the middle way, hath gone so far out of his way; he had better have stayed under a dry roof, in the house of banishment, than to have left his Gyarus,

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the island of his sorrow, and to dwell on the Adriatic; so is he that begins a state of religion, and does not finish it; he abides in the highway, and though he be nearer the place, yet is as far from the rest of his country as ever; and therefore, all that beginning of labor was in the prejudice of his rest, but nothing to the advantages of his hopes. He that hath never begun, hath lost no labor; *jactura præteritorum*, "the loss of all that he hath done," is the first evil of the negligent and lukewarm Christian; according to the saying of Solomon; 'He that is remiss or idle in his labor, is the brother of him that scattereth his goods.'*

2. The second appendant evil is, that lukewarmness is the occasion of greater evil;—because the remiss easy Christian shuts the gate against the heavenly breathings of God's Holy Spirit; he thinks every breath, that is fanned by the wings of the holy Dove, is not intended to encourage his fires, which burn and smoke, and peep through the cloud already; it tempts him to security; and, if an evil life be a certain inlet to a second death, despair on one side, and security on the other, are the bars and locks to that door, he can never pass forth again while that state remains; whoever slips in his spiritual walking does not presently fall; but if that slip does not awaken his diligence, and his caution, then his ruin begins, *vel pravæ institutionis deceptus exordio, aut per longam mentis incuriam, et virtute animi decidente*, as St. Austin observes; "either on the pursuit of his first error, or by a careless spirit, or a decaying slackened resolution:" all which are the direct effects of lukewarmness. But so have I seen a fair structure begun with art and care, and raised to half its stature, and then it stood still by the misfortune or negligence of the owner, and the rain descended, and dwelt in its joints, and supplanted the contexture of its pillars; and having stood awhile, like the antiquated temple of a deceased oracle, it fell into a hasty age, and sunk on its own knees, and so descended into ruin: so is the imperfect, unfinished spirit of a man; it lays the foundation of a holy resolution, and strengthens it with vows and arts of prosecution, it raises up the walls, sacraments, and prayers,

* Prov. xviii. 9.

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reading, and holy ordinances; and holy actions begin with a slow motion, and the building stays, and the spirit is weary, and the soul is naked, and exposed to temptation, and in the days of storm take in every thing that can do it mischief; and it is faint and sick, listless and tired, and it stands till its own weight wearies the foundation, and then declines to death and sad disorder, being so much the worse, because it hath not only returned to its first follies, but hath superadded unthankfulness and carelessness, a positive neglect and a despite of holy things, a setting a low price to the things of God, laziness and wretchlessness: all which are evils superadded to the first state of coldness, whither he is with all these loads and circumstances of death easily revolved.

3. A state of lukewarmness is more incorrigible than a state of coldness; while men flatter themselves, that their state is good, that they are rich and need nothing, that their lamps are dressed, and full of ornament. There are many, that think they are in their country as soon as ever they are weary, and measure not the end of their hopes by the possession of them, but by their precedent labor, which they overvalue, because they have easy and effeminate souls. St. Bernard complains of some that say, *Sufficit nobis, nolumus esse meliores quam patres nostri:* "It is enough for us to be as our forefathers," who were honest and useful in their generations; but be not over-righteous. These men are such as think they have knowlege enough to need no teacher, devotion enough to need no new fires, perfection enough to need no new progress, justice enough to need no repentance; and then because the spirit of a man and all the things of this world are in perpetual variety and change, these men decline, when they have gone their period; they stand still, and then revert; like a stone returning from the bosom of a cloud, where it rested as long as the thought of a child, and fell to its natural bed of earth, and dwelt below for ever. He that says, he will take care he be no worse, and that he desires to be no better, stops his journey into heaven, but cannot be secure against his descending into hell: and Cassian spake a hard saying: *Frequenter vidimus de frigidis et carnalibus ad spiritualem venisse fervorem, de tepidis et animalibus omnino non vidimus:* "Many persons from vicious,

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and dead, and cold, have passed into life and an excellent grace, and a spiritual warmth, and holy fires; but from lukewarm and indifferent never any body came to an excellent condition, and state of holiness:" *rarissime*, St. Bernard says, "very extremely seldom:" and our blessed Saviour said something of this: 'The publicans and the harlots go before you into the kingdom of heaven;' they are moved by shame, and punished by disgrace, and remarked by punishments, and frightened by the circumstances and notices of all the world, and separated from sober persons by laws and an intolerable character, and the sense of honor, and the care of their persons, and their love of civil society, and every thing in the world can invite them towards virtues. But the man that is accounted honest, and does justice, and some things of religion, unless he finds himself but on his way, and feels his wants, and groans under the sense of his infirmities, and sighs under his imperfections, and accounts himself 'not to have comprehended,' but 'still presses towards the mark of his calling,' unless (I say) he still increases in his appetites of religion, as he does in his progression, he will think he needs no counsellor, and the Spirit of God whispers to an ear, that is already filled with noises, and cannot attend to the heavenly calling. The stomach that is already full is next to loathing; and that is the prologue to sickness, and a rejecting the first wholesome nutriment, which was entertained to relieve the first natural necessities:—*Qui non proficit, vult deficere*, said St. Bernard: "He that goes not forward in the love of God and of religion, does not stand still, but goes for all that;" but whither such a motion will lead him, himself without a timely care shall feel by an intolerable experiment.

In this sense and for these reasons it is, that although a lukewarm Christian hath gone forward some steps towards a state of holiness, and is advanced beyond him that is cold and dead and unconcerned; and therefore, speaking absolutely and naturally, is nearer the kingdom of God than he that is not yet set out; yet accidentally, and by reason of these ill appendages, he is worse, in greater danger, in a state equally unacceptable, and therefore must either go forward, and still do the work of God carefully, and diligently, with a fervent spirit, and an

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active hand, with a willing heart, and a cheerful eye, or it had been better he had never begun.

2. It concerns us next to inquire concerning the duty in its proper instances, that we may perceive to what parts and degrees of duty it amounts; we shall find it especially in the duties of faith, of prayer, and of charity.

1. Our faith must be strong, vigorous, active, confident, and patient, reasonable, and unalterable, without doubting, and fear, and partiality. For the faith of very many men seems a duty so weak and indifferent, is so often untwisted by violence, or ravelled and entangled in weak discourses, or so false and fallacious by its mixture of interest, that though men usually put most confidences in the pretences of faith, yet no pretences are more unreasonable.

Our faith and persuasions in religion are most commonly imprinted in us by our country, and we are Christians at the same rate as we are English or Spaniards, or of such a family; our reason is first stained and spotted with the die of our kindred and country, and our education puts it in grain, and whatsoever is against this we are taught to call a temptation: in the mean time we call these accidental and artificial persuasions by the name of faith, which is only the air of the country, or an heirloom of the family, or the daughter of a present interest. Whatever it was that brought us in, we are to take care that when we are in, our faith be noble, and stand on its most proper and most reasonable foundation; it concerns us better to understand that religion, which we call faith, and that faith whereby we hope to be saved.

2. The faith and the whole religion of many men is the production of fear. Men are threatened into their persuasions, and the iron rod of a tyrant converts whole nations to his principles, when the wise discourses of the religion seems dull as sleep, and unprevailing as the talk of childhood. That is but a deceitful faith which our timorousness begot, and our weakness nurses and brings up. The religion of a Christian is immortal, and certain, and persuasive, and infallible, and unalterable, and therefore needs not be received by human and weak convoys, like worldly and mortal religions: that faith is luke-

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warm, and easy, and trifling, which is only a belief of that which a man wants courage to disbelieve.

3. The faith of many men is such that they dare not trust it: they will talk of it, and serve vanity, or their lust, or their company, or their interest by it, but when the matter comes to a pinch, they dare not trust it. When Antisthenes was initiated into the mysteries of Orpheus, the priest told him that all that were of that religion immediately after death should be perfectly happy;* the philosopher asked him why he did not die, if he believed what he said? Such a faith as that was fine to talk of at table, or eating the sacrifices of the religion, when the mystic man was ἔνθεος, full of wine and flesh, of confidence and religion; but to die is a more material consideration, and to be chosen on no grounds, but such a faith which really comes from God, and can secure our reason, and our choice, and perfect our interest and designs. And it hath been long observed concerning those bold people that use their reason against God that gave it, they have one persuasion in their health, and another in their sickness and fears: when they are well they blaspheme; when they die they are superstitious. It was Bias's case, when he was poisoned by the atheisms of Theodorus, no man died more like a coward and a fool; "as if the gods were to come and go as Bias pleased to think and talk;" so one said of his folly. If God be to be feared when we die, he is also to be feared in all our life, for he can for ever make us die; he that will do it once, and that when he please, can always. And therefore all those persuasions against God and against religion, are only the production of vicious passions, of drink or fancy, of confidence and ignorance, of boldness or vile appetites, of vanity or fierceness, of pride or flatteries; and atheism is a proportion so unnatural and monstrous, that it can never dwell in a man's heart as faith does, in health and sickness, in peace and war, in company and alone, at the beginning and at the end of a design; but comes from weak principles, and leaves shallow and superficial impressions; but when men endeavor to

* His qui sacris visis abeunt ad inferos,
Homines beati sunt, solis quia vivere
Contingit illic istis; turba cætera
Omnium malorum generi incidit.

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strengthen and confirm it, they only strive to make themselves worse than they can. Naturally a man cannot be an atheist; for he that is so must have something within him that is worse than man or devil.

4. Some measure their faith by shows and appearances, by ceremonies and names, by professions and little institutions. Diogenes was angry at the silly priest that thought he should be immortal because he was a priest, and would not promise so concerning Agesilaus and Epaminondas, two noble Greeks that had preserved their country, and lived virtuously. The faith of a Christian hath no signification at all but obedience and charity; if men be just, and charitable, and good, and live according to their faith, then only they are Christians; whatsoever else is pretended is but a shadow, and the image of a grace; for since in all the sects and institutions of the world, the professors did, in some reasonable sort, conform to the rules of the profession (as appears in all the schools of philosophers, and religions of the world, and the practices of the Jews, and the usages and the country-customs of the Turks), it is a strange dishonor to Christianity, that in it alone men should pretend to the faith of it, and do nothing of what it persuades and commands, on the account of those promises which it makes us to believe. He that means to please God by his faith, must have his faith begotten in him by the Spirit of God, and proper arguments of religion: he must profess it without fear, he must dare to die for it, and resolve to live according to its institution; he must grow more confident and more holy, have fewer doubtings and more virtues, he must be resolute and constant, far from indifferency, and above secular regards; he must by it regulate his life, and value it above his life; he must 'contend earnestly for the faith,' by the most prevailing arguments, by the arguments of holy living and ready dying, by zeal and patience, by conformity and humility, by reducing words to actions, fair discourses to perfect persuasions, by loving the article, and increasing in the knowlege and love of God, and his Son Jesus Christ; and then his faith is not negligent, deceitful, artificial, and improper; but true, and holy, and reasonable, and useful, zealous and sufficient; and therefore can never be reproved.

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2. Our prayers* and devotions must be fervent and zealous, not cold, patient, easy, and soon rejected; but supported by a patient spirit, set forwards by importunity, continued by perseverance, waited on by attention and a present mind, carried along with holy, but strong desires; and ballasted with resignation, and conformity to the Divine will; and then it is as God likes it, and does the work to God's glory and our interest effectively. He that asks with a doubting mind, and a lazy desire, begs for nothing but to be denied; we must in our prayers be earnest and fervent, or else we shall have but a cold answer; for God gives his grace according as we can receive it; and whatsoever evil returns we meet in our prayers, when we ask for good things, is wholly by reason of our wandering spirits and cold desires; we have reason to complain that our minds wander in our prayers, and our diversions are more prevailing than all our arts of application and detention; and we wander sometimes even when we pray against wandering: and it is in some degrees natural and inevitable: but although the evil is not wholly to be cured, yet the symptoms are to be eased; and if our desires were strong and fervent, our minds would in the same proportion be present: we see it by a certain and regular experience; what we love passionately we perpetually think on, and it returns on us whether we will or no; and in a great fear, the apprehension cannot be shaken off; and therefore, if our desires of holy things were strong and earnest, we should most certainly attend our prayers: it is a more violent affection to other things, that carries us off from this; and therefore if we loved passionately what we ask for daily, we should ask with hearty desires, and an earnest appetite, and a present spirit: and however it be very easy to have our thoughts wander, yet it is our indifferency and lukewarmness that make it so natural: and you may observe it, that so long as the light shines bright, and the fires of devotion, and desires flame out, so long the mind of a man stands close to the altar, and waits on the sacrifice; but as the fires die, and desires decay, so the mind steals away, and walks abroad to see the little images of beauty and pleasure, which it beholds in the

* See Sermons of the Return of Prayer, part 2.

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falling stars and little glow-worms of the world. The river that runs slow and creeps by the banks, and begs leave of every turf to let it pass, is drawn into little hollownesses, and spends itself in smaller portions, and dies with diversion; but when it runs with vigorousness and a full stream, and breaks down every obstacle, making it even as its own brow, it stays not to be tempted by little avocations, and to creep into holes, but runs into the sea through full and useful channels: so is a man's prayer, if it moves on the feet of an abated appetite; it wanders into the society of every trifling accident, and stays at the corners of the fancy, and talks with every object it meets, and cannot arrive at heaven; but when it is carried on the wings of passion and strong desires, a swift motion and a hungry appetite, it passes on through all the intermedial regions of clouds, and stays not till it dwells at the foot of the throne, where mercy sits, and thence sends holy showers of refreshment. I deny not but some little drops will turn aside, and fall from the full channel by the weakness of the banks, and hollowness of the passage; but the main course is still continued: and although the most earnest and devout persons feel and complain of some looseness of spirit, and unfixed attentions, yet their love and their desire secure the main portions, and make the prayer to be strong, fervent, and effectual. Any thing can be done by him that earnestly desires what he ought; secure but your affections and passions, and then no temptation will be too strong; 'a wise man, and a full resolution, and an earnest spirit, can do any thing of duty;' but every temptation prevails, when we are willing to die; and we usually lend nothing to devotion but the offices that flatter our passions; we can desire and pray for any thing that may serve our lust, or promote those ends which we covet, but ought to fear and flee from: but the same earnestness, if it were transplanted into religion and our prayers, would serve all the needs of the spirit; but for want of it we do 'the Lord's work deceitfully.'

3. Our charity also must be fervent: *Malus est miles qui ducem suum gemens sequitur;* "He that follows his general with a heavy march, and a heavy heart, is but an ill soldier;" but our duty to God should be hugely pleasing, and we should rejoice in it: it must pass on to action, and do the action

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vigorously: it is called in Scripture κόπος ἀγάπης, 'the labor' and travail 'of love.' "A friend at a sneeze and an alms-basket full of prayers," a love that is lazy, and a service that is useless, and a pity without support, are the images and colors of that grace, whose very constitution and design is beneficence and well-doing. He that loves passionately, will not only do all that his friend needs, but all that himself can; for although the law of charity is fulfilled by acts of profit, and bounty, and obedience, and labor, yet it hath no other measures but the proportions and abundance of a good mind; and according to this God requires that we be περισσεύοντες ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τοῦ Κυρίου, 'abounding,' and that 'always in the work of the Lord:' if we love passionately, we shall do all this; for love endures labor and calls it pleasure, it spends all and counts it a gain, it suffers inconveniences and is quickly reconciled to them; if dishonors and affronts be to be endured, love smiles and calls them favors, and wears them willingly.

——————— Alii jacuere ligati
Turpiter, atque aliquis de Dîs non tristibus optat
Sic fieri turpis,———————

'It is the Lord,' said David, and 'I will yet be more vile, and it shall be honor unto me;' thus did the disciples of our Lord go from tribunals, rejoicing that they were accounted worthy to suffer stripes for that beloved name; and we are commanded 'to rejoice in persecutions, to resist unto blood, to strive to enter in at the strait gate, not to be weary of well-doing;' do it hugely, and do it always. *Non enim votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia Deorum parantur; sed vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo, omnia prospere cedunt.* No man can obtain the favor of God by words and imperfect resolutions, by lazy actions and a remiss piety; but by severe counsels and sober actions, by watchfulness and prudence, by doing excellent things with holy intentions and vigorous prosecutions. *Ubi socordiæ et ignaviæ te tradideris, nequicquam Deos implorabis:* if your virtues be lazy, your vices will be bold and active: and therefore Democritus said well, that the painful and the soft-handed people in religion differ just as good men and bad; *nimirum spe bona,* the laboring charity hath 'a good

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hope,' but a cool religion hath none at all; and the distinction will have a sad effect to eternal ages.

These are the great scenes of duty, in which we are to be fervent and zealous; but because earnestness and zeal are circumstances of a great latitude, and the zeal of the present age is stark cold, if compared to the fervors of the Apostles, and other holy primitives: and in every age a good man's care may turn into scruple, if he sees that he is not the best man, because he may reckon his own estate to stand in the confines of darkness, because his spark is not so great as his neighbor's fires, therefore it is fit that we consider concerning the degrees of the intention and forward heats; for when we have found out the lowest degrees of zeal, and a holy fervor, we know that duty dwells there, and whatsoever is above it is a degree of excellence; but all that is less than it is lukewarmness, and the state of an ungracious and an unaccepted person.

1. No man is fervent and zealous as he ought, but he that prefers religion before business, charity before his own ease, the relief of his brother before money, heaven before secular regards, and God before his friend or interest. Which rule is not to be understood absolutely, and in particular instances, but always generally; and when it descends to particulars, it must be in proportion to circumstances, and by their proper measures: for,

1. In the whole course of life it is necessary that we prefer religion before any state that is either contrary to it, or a lessening of its duties. He that hath a state of life, in which he cannot at all, in fair proportions, tend to religion, must quit great proportions of that, that he may enjoy more of this; this is that which our blessed Saviour calls 'pulling out the right eye, if it offend thee.'

2. In particular actions, when the necessity is equal, he that does not prefer religion, is not at all zealous:—for although all natural necessities are to be served before the circumstances and order of religion, yet our belly and our back, our liberty and our life, our health and a friend, are to be neglected rather than a duty, when it stands in its proper place, and is required.

3. Although the things of God are by a necessary zeal to be preferred before the things of the world, yet we must take heed

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that we do not reckon religion and orders of worshipping only to be 'the things of God,' and all other duties to be 'the things of the world:' for it was a pharisaical devise to cry *Corban*, and to refuse to relieve their aged parents: it is good to give to a church, but it is better to give to the poor; and though they must be both provided for, yet in cases of dispute, mercy carries the cause against religion and the temple. And although Mary was commended for choosing the better part, yet Mary had done worse if she had been at the foot of her Master, when she should have relieved a perishing brother. Martha was troubled with much serving; that was 'more than need,' and therefore she was to blame; and sometimes hearing in some circumstances may be 'more than needs;' and some women are 'troubled with over-much hearing,' and then they had better have been serving the necessities of their house.

4. This rule is not to be extended to the relatives of religion; for although the things of the Spirit are better than the things of the world, yet a spiritual man is not in human regards to be preferred before princes and noble personages; because a man is called spiritual in several regards, and for various measures and manners of partaking of the Spirit of grace, or cooperating towards the works of the Spirit. A king and a bishop both have callings in order to godliness, and honesty, and spiritual effects, towards the advancement of Christ's kingdom, whose representatives severally they are. But whether of these two works more immediately, or more effectively, cannot at all times be known; and therefore from hence no argument can be drawn concerning doing them civil regards; and possibly 'the partaking the Spirit' is a nearer relation to him than doing his ministries, and serving his ends on others; and if relations to God and God's Spirit could bring an obligation of giving proportionable civil honor, every holy man might put in some pretence for dignities above some kings and some bishops. But as the things of the Spirit are in order to the affairs of another world, so they naturally can infer only such a relative dignity, as can be expressed in spiritual manners. But because such relations are subjected in men of this life, and we now converse especially in material and secular significations, therefore we are to express our regards to men of such relations by proportion-

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able expressions: but because civil excellences are the proper ground of receiving and exacting civil honors, and spiritual excellences do only claim them accidentally and indirectly; therefore in titles of honor and human regards, the civil preeminence is the appendix of the greatest civil power and employment, and is to descend in proper measures; and for a spiritual relation to challenge a temporal dignity, is as if the best music should challenge the best clothes, or a lutestring should contend with a rose for the honor of the greatest sweetness. Add to this, that although temporal things are in order to spiritual, and therefore are less perfect, yet this is not so naturally; for temporal things are properly in order to the felicity of man in his proper and present constitution; and it is by a supernatural grace that now they are thrust forward to a higher end of grace and glory; and therefore temporal things, and persons, and callings, have properly the chiefest temporal regard; and Christ took nothing of this away from them, but put them higher, by sanctifying and ennobling them. But then the higher calling can no more suppose the higher man, than the richest trade can suppose the richest man. From callings to men, the argument is fallacious; and a smith is a more useful man than he that teaches logic, but not always to be more esteemed, and called to stand at the chairs of princes and nobles. Holy persons and holy things, and all great relations, are to be valued by general proportions to their correlatives; but if we descend to make minute and exact proportions, and proportion an inch of temporal to a minute of spiritual, we must needs be hugely deceived, unless we could measure the motion of an angel by a string, or the progressions of the Spirit by weight and measure of the staple. And yet if these measures were taken, it would be unreasonable that the lower of the higher kind should be preferred before the most perfect and excellent in a lower order of things. A man generally is to be esteemed above a woman, but not the meanest of her subjects before the most excellent queen; not always this man before this woman. Now kings and princes are the best in all temporal dignities; and therefore if they had in them no spiritual relations and consequent excellences (as they have very many), yet are not to be undervalued to spiritual relations, which in this world are very imper-

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fect, weak, partial; and must stay till the next world before they are in a state of excellency, propriety, and perfection; and then also all shall have them, according to the worth of their persons, not of their calling.

But, lastly, what men may not challenge, is not their just and proper due; but spiritual persons and the nearest relatives to God stand by him but so long as they dwell low and safe in humility, and rise high in nothing but in labors, and zeal of souls, and devotion. In proportion to this rule, a church may be pulled down to save a town, and the vessels of the church may be sold to redeem captives, when there is a great calamity imminent, and prepared for relief, and no other way to succor it.

But in the whole, the duty of zeal requires that we neglect an ordinary visit rather than an ordinary prayer, and a great profit rather than omit a required duty. No excuse can legitimate a sin; and he that goes about to distinguish between his duty and his profit, and if he cannot reconcile them, will yet tie them together like a hyæna and a dog, this man pretends to religion, but secures the world; and is indifferent and lukewarm towards that, so he may be warm and safe in the possession of this.

2. To that fervor and zeal that is necessary and a duty, it is required that we be constant and persevering. *Esto fidelis ad mortem*, said the Spirit of God to the angel of the church of Smyrna, 'Be faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.' For he that is warm to-day and cold to-morrow, zealous in his resolution and weary in his practices, fierce in the beginning and slack and easy in his progress, hath not yet well chosen what side he will be of; he sees not reason enough for religion, and he hath not confidence enough for its contrary: and therefore he is *duplicis animi*, as St. James calls him; 'of a doubtful mind.' For religion is worth as much to-day as it was yesterday, and that cannot change though we do; and if we do, we have left God; and whither he can go that goes from God, his own sorrows will soon enough instruct him. This fire must never go out, but it must be like the fire of heaven, it must shine like the stars, though sometimes covered with a cloud, or obscured by a greater light; yet they dwell for ever

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in their orbs, and walk in their circles, and observe their circumstances, but go not out by day nor night, and set not when kings die, nor are extinguished when nations change their government: so must the zeal of a Christian be, a constant incentive of his duty: and though sometimes his hand is drawn back by violence or need, and his prayers shortened by the importunity of business, and some parts omitted by necessities and just compliances, yet still the fire is kept alive; it burns within when the light breaks not forth, and is eternal as the orb of fire, or the embers of the altar of incense.

3. No man is zealous as he ought, but he that delights in the service of God:—without this no man can persevere, but must faint under the continual pressure of an uneasy load. If a man goes to his prayers as children go to school, or give alms as those that pay contribution, and meditate with the same willingness with which young men die, this man does *personam sustinere*, "he acts a part" which he cannot long personate, but will find so many excuses and silly devices to omit his duty, such tricks to run from that which will make him happy; he will so watch the eyes of men, and be so sure to do nothing in private; he will so often distinguish and mince the duty into minutes and little particles; he will so tie himself to the letter of the law, and be so careless of the intention and spiritual design; he will be so punctual in the ceremony and trifling in the secret, and he will be so well pleased when he is hindered by an accident not of his own procuring, and will have so many devices to defeat his duty, and to cozen himself, that he will certainly manifest that he is afraid of religion, and secretly hates it: he counts it a burden, and an objection, and then the man is sure to leave it when his circumstances are so fitted. But if we delight in it, we enter into a portion of the reward as soon as we begin the work, and the very grace shall be stronger than the temptation in its very pretence of pleasure; and therefore it must needs be pleasing to God, because it confesses God to be the best master, religion the best work, and it serves God with choice and will, and reconciles our nature to it, and entertains our appetite; and then there is no *ansa* or handle left, whereby we can easily be drawn from duty, when all parties are pleased with the employment. But this delight

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is not to be understood as if it were always required that we should feel an actual cheerfulness and sensible joy; such as was that of Jonathan, when he had newly tasted honey, and the light came into his eyes, and he was refreshed and pleasant. This happens sometimes, when God pleases to intice or reward a man's spirit with little antepasts of heaven: but such a delight only is necessary, and a duty, that we always choose our duty regularly, and undervalue the pleasures of temptation, and proceed in the work of grace with a firm choice and unabated election; our joy must be a joy of hope, a joy at the least of confident sufferers, the joys of faith and expectation; 'rejoicing in hope,' so the Apostle calls it; that is, a going forward on such a persuasion as sees the joys of God laid up for the children of men: and so the sun may shine under a cloud; and a man may rejoice in persecution, and delight in losses; that is, though his outward man groans and faints, and dies, yet his spirit, ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος, 'the inner man,' is confident and industrious, and hath a hope by which it lives and works unto the end: it was the case of our blessed Saviour in his agony; his 'soul was exceeding sorrowful unto death,' and the load of his Father's anger crushed his shoulder, and bowed his knees to the ground; and yet he chose it, and still went forward, and resolved to die, and did so; and what we choose we delight in; and we think it to be eligible, and therefore amiable, and fit by its proper excellences and appendages to be delighted in; it is not pleasant to the flesh at all times, for its dignity is spiritual and heavenly; but therefore it is proportioned to the spirit, which is as heavenly as the reward, and therefore can feel the joys of it, when the body hangs the head, and is uneasy and troubled.

These are the necessary parts of zeal; of which if any man fails, he is in a state of lukewarmness: and that is a spiritual death. As a banished man or a condemned person is dead civilly; he is *diminutus capite*, he is not reckoned in the census, nor partakes of the privileges, nor goes for a person, but is reckoned among things in the possession of others: so is a lukewarm person; he is *corde diminutus*, he is spiritually dead, his heart is estranged from God, his affections are lessened, his hope diminished, and his title cancelled; and he

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remains so, unless, 1. he prefers religion before the world, and, 2. spiritually rejoices in doing his duty, and, 3. does it constantly, and with perseverance. These are the heats and warmth of life; whatsoever is less than this, is a disease, and leads to the coldness and dishonors of the grave.

SERMON V.

PART III.

So long as our zeal and forwardness in religion hath only these constituted parts, it hath no more than can keep the duty alive: but beyond this, there are many degrees of earnestness and vehemence, which are progressions towards the state of perfection, which every man ought to design and desire to be added to his portion: of this sort I reckon frequency in prayer, and alms above our estate. Concerning which two instances I have these two cautions to insert.

1. Concerning frequency in prayer, it is an act of zeal so ready and prepared for the spirit of a man, so easy and useful, so without objection, and so fitted for every man's affairs, his necessities and possibilities, that he that prays but seldom, cannot in any sense pretend to be a religious person. For in Scripture there is no other rule for the frequency of prayer given us, but by such words which signify we should do it 'always,' 'pray continually:' and 'men ought always to pray and not to faint.' And then, men have so many necessities, that if we should esteem our needs to be the circumstances and positive determination of our times of prayer, we should be very far from admitting limitation of the former words, but they must mean, that we ought to pray frequently every day. For in danger and trouble, natural religion teaches us to pray; in a festival fortune, our prudence and our needs enforce us equally. For though we feel not a present smart, yet we are certain then is our biggest danger: and if we observe how the world treats her darlings, men of riches and honor, of prosperity and great suc-

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cess, we cannot but confess them to be the most miserable of all men, as being in the greatest danger of losing their biggest interest. For they are bigger than the iron hand of law, and they cannnot be restrained with fear; the hand grasps a power of doing all that which their evil heart can desire, and they cannot be restrained with disability to sin; they are flattered by all mean, and base, and undiligent persons, which are the greatest part of mankind; but few men dare reprove a potent sinner; he shall every day be flattered and seldom counselled: and his great reflexions and opinions of his condition make him impatient of reproof, and so he cannot be restrained with modesty: and therefore as the needs of the poor man, his rent-day, and the cries of his children, and the oppression he groans under, and his δυσκολόκοιτος μέριμνα, his uneasy, "ill-sleeping care,"—will make him run to his prayers, that in heaven a new decree may be passed every day for the provisions of his daily bread; so the greater needs of the rich, their temptations, and their dangers, the flattery and the vanity, the power and the pride, their business and evil estate of the whole world on them, call on them to be zealous in this instance, that they 'pray often,' that they 'pray without ceasing;' for there is great reason they should do so, and great security and advantage, if they do; for he that prays well and prays often, must needs be a good and a blessed man; and truly he that does not, deserves no pity for his misery. For when all the troubles and dangers of his condition may turn into his good, if he will but desire they should; when on such easy terms he may be happy, for there is no more trouble in it than this, 'Ask, and ye shall receive;' that is all that is required: no more turnings and variety in their road; when (I say) at so cheap a rate, a poor man may be provided for, and a rich man may escape damnation, he that refuses to apply himself to this remedy, quickly, earnestly, zealously, and constantly, deserves the smart of his poverty, and the care of it, and the scorn, if he be poor; and if he be rich, it is fit he should (because he desires it) die by the evils of his proper danger. It was observed by Cassian, *Orationibus maxime insidiantur dæmones;* "The devil is more busy to disturb our prayers, than to hinder any thing else." For else it cannot be imagined, why we should be brought to pray so seldom; and

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to be so listless to them, and so trifling at them. No, the devil knows on what hard terms he stands with the praying man; he also knows, that it is a mighty emanation of God's infinite goodness, and a strange desire of saving mankind, that he hath to so easy a duty promised such mighty blessings. For God knowing that on hard terms we would not accept of heaven itself, and yet hell was so intolerable a state, that God who loved us, would affix heaven to a state of prayer and devotion; this, because the devil knows to be one of the greatest arts of the Divine mercy, he labors infinitely to supplant; and if he can but make men unwilling to pray, or to pray coldly, or to pray seldom, he secures his interest, and destroys the man's; and it is infinitely strange that he can and doth prevail so much in this so unreasonable temptation. *Opposuisti nubem, ne transiret oratio*, the mourning prophet complained;* 'there was a cloud passed between heaven and the prayer of Judah;' a little thing, God knows; it was a wall, which might have been blown down with a few hearty sighs, and a few penitential tears; or if the prayers had ascended in a full and numerous body, themselves would have broken through that little partition: but so the devil prevails often; *opponit nubem*, "he claps a cloud between;" some little objection; "a stranger is come;" or "my head aches;" or "the church is too cold;" or "I have letters to write;" or "I am not disposed;" or "it is not yet time;" or "the time is past:" these, and such as these, are the clouds the devil claps between heaven and us; but these are such impotent objections, that they were as soon confuted as pretended, by all men that are not fools, or professed enemies of religion, but that they are clouds, which sometimes look like lions and bears, castles and walls of fire, armies and horses; and indeed are any thing that a man will fancy; and the smallest article of objection managed and conducted by the devil's arts, and meeting with a wretchless, careless, undevout spirit, is a lion in the way, and a deep river; it is impassable, and it is impregnable. *Γίγνονται πάνθ' ὅ, τι βούλονται νεφέλαι· λύκοι ἐὰν Σίμωνα κατίδωσι, ἔλαφοι τῷ Κλεωνύμῳ,*† as the sophister said in the Greek comedy, "Clouds become any thing as

* Lam. iii. 44. † Arist. Νεφέλαι, 348.

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they are represented; wolves to Simon, harts to Cleonymus;" for the devil fits us with clouds, according as we can be abused; and if we love affairs of the world, he can contrive its circumstances so, that they shall cross our prayers; and so it is in every instance: and the best way to cure this evil is prayer; pray often, and pray zealously, and the Sun of righteousness will scatter these clouds, and warm our hearts with his holy fires: but it is in this as in all acquired habits; the habit makes the action easy and pleasant; but this habit cannot be gotten without frequent actions: habits are the daughters of action; but then they nurse their mother, and produce daughters after her image, but far more beautiful and prosperous. For in frequent prayer there is so much rest and pleasure, that as soon as ever it is perceived, the contrary temptation appears unreasonable: none are so unwilling to pray, as they that pray seldom; for they that do pray often, and with zeal, and passion, and desire, feel no trouble so great, as when they are forced to omit their holy offices and hours of prayers. It concerns the devil's interest to keep us from all the experience of the rewards of a frequent and holy prayer; and so long as you will not try and 'taste how good and gracious the Lord is' to the praying man, so long you cannot see the evil of your coldness and lukewarm state; but if you would but try, though it be but for curiosity's sake, and inform yourselves in the vanity of things, and the truth of pretences, and the certainty of theological propositions, you should find yourselves taken in a golden snare, which will tie you to nothing but felicity, and safety, and holiness, and pleasure. But then the caution which I intended to insert is this; that frequency in prayer, and that part of zeal which relates to it, is to be on no account but of a holy spirit, a wise heart, and reasonable persuasion; for if it begin on passion or fear, in imitation of others, or desires of reputation, honor, and fantastic principles, it will be unblessed and weary, unprosperous and without return of satisfaction; therefore if it happen to begin on a weak principle, be very curious to change the motive, and with all speed let it be turned into religion and the love of holy things: then, let it be as frequent as it can prudently, it cannot be amiss.

When you are entered into a state of zealous prayer, and

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a regular devotion, whatever interruptions you meet with, observe their causes, and be sure to make them irregular, seldom, and contingent, that your omissions may be seldom and casual, as a bare accident; for which no provisions can be made: for if ever it come, that you take any thing habitually and constantly from your prayers, or that you distract from them very frequently, it cannot be but you will become troublesome to yourself; your prayers will be uneasy, they will seem hinderances to your more necessary affairs of passion and interest, and the things of the world: and it will not stand still till it comes to apostasy, and a direct dispute and contempt of holy things. For it was an old rule, and of a sad experience, *Tepiditas, si callum obduxerit, fiet apostasia:* "If your lukewarmness be habitual and a state of life, if it once be hardened by the usages of many days, it changes the whole state of the man, it makes him an apostate to devotion." Therefore be infinitely careful in this particular, always remembering the saying of St. Chrysostom; *Docendi, prædicandi officia, et alia cessant suo tempore, precandi autem nunquam;* "There are seasons for teaching and preaching and other outward offices: but prayer is the duty of all times, and of all persons, and in all contingences: from other things, in many cases, we may be excused, but from prayer never." In this, therefore, καλὸν ζηλοῦσθαι, "it is good to be zealous."

2. Concerning the second instance I named, namely, To give alms above our estate, it is an excellent act of zeal, and needs no other caution to make it secure from illusion and danger, but that our egressions of charity do not prejudice justice. See that your alms do not other men wrong; and let them do what they can to thyself, they will never prejudice thee by their abundance; but then be also careful, that the pretences of justice do not cozen thyself of thy charity, and the poor of thine alms, and thy soul of the reward. He that is in debt, is not excused from giving alms, till his debts are paid; but only from giving away such portions which should and would pay them, and such which he intended should do it: there are *lacernæ divitiarum*, and crums from the table, and the gleanings of the harvest, and the scatterings of the vintage, which in all estates are the portions of the poor, which being

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collected by the hand of Providence, and united wisely, may become considerable to the poor, and are the necessary duties of charity; but beyond this also, every considerable relief to the poor is not a considerable diminution to the estate; and yet if it be, it is not always considerable in the accounts of justice; for nothing ought to be pretended against the zeal of alms, but the certain omissions, or the very probable retarding the doing that, to which we are otherwise obliged. He that is going to pay a debt, and in the way meets an indigent person that needs it all, may not give it to him, unless he knows by other means to pay the debt; but if he can do both, he hath his liberty to lay out his money for a crown. But then in the case of provision for children, our restraint is not so easy, or discernible: 1. because we are not bound to provide for them in a certain portion, but may do it by the analogies and measures of prudence, in which there is a great latitude: 2. because our zeal of charity is a good portion for them, and lays up a blessing for inheritance: 3. because the fairest portions of charity are usually short of such sums, which can be considerable in the duty of provision for our children: 4. if we for them could be content to take any measure less than all, any thing under every thing that we can, we should find the portions of the poor made ready to our hands sufficiently to minister to zeal, and yet not to intrench on this case of conscience; but the truth is, we are so careless, so unskilled, so unstudied in religion,—that we are only glad to make an excuse, and to defeat our souls of the reward of the noblest grace: we are contented, if we can but make a pretence; for we are highly pleased if our conscience be quiet, and care not so much that our duty be performed, much less that our eternal interest be advanced in bigger portions. We care not, we strive not, we think not, of getting the greater rewards of heaven; and he whose desires are so indifferent for the greater, will not take pains to secure the smallest portion; and it is observable, that ἐλάχιστος ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, 'the least in the kingdom of heaven,'* is as much as οὐδεὶς, 'as good as none;' if a man will be content with his hopes of the lowest place there, and will not

* Matt. v. 16.

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labor for something beyond it, he does not value it at all; and it is ten to one but he will lose that for which he takes so little pains, and is content with so easy a security. He, that does his alms, and resolves that in no case he will suffer inconvenience for his brother, whose case it may be is intolerable, should do well to remember, that God, in some cases, requires a greater charity; and it may be, we shall be called to die for the good of our brother; and that although it always supposes a zeal, and a holy fervor, yet sometimes it is also a duty, and we lose our lives if we go to save them; and so we do with our estates, when we are such good husbands in our religion, that we will serve all our own conveniences before the great needs of a hungry and afflicted brother, God oftentimes takes from us that which with so much curiosity we would preserve; and then we lose our money, and our reward too.

3. Hither is to be reduced the accepting and choosing the counsels evangelical: the virgin or widow estate in order to religion: selling all, and giving it to the poor: making ourselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven: offering ourselves to death voluntarily, in exchange or redemption of the life of a most useful person, as 'Aquila and Priscilla, who ventured their lives for St. Paul:' the zeal of souls: St. Paul's preaching to the Corinthian church without wages: remitting of rights and forgiving of debts, when the obliged person could pay, but not without much trouble: protection of calamitous persons with hazard of our own interest and a certain trouble; concerning which and all other acts of zeal, we are to observe the following measures, by which our zeal will become safe and holy, and by them also we shall perceive the excesses of zeal, and its inordinations; which is the next thing I am to consider.

1. The first measure, by which our zeal may comply with our duty and its actions become laudable, is charity to our neighbor. For since God receives all that glorification of himself, whereby we can serve and minister to his glory, reflected on the foundation of his own goodness, and bounty, and mercy, and all the hallelujahs that are or ever shall be sung in heaven, are praises and thanksgivings; and that God himself does not receive glory from the acts of his justice, but then when his

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creatures will not rejoice in his goodness and mercy; it follows that we imitate this original excellency, and pursue God's own method; that is, glorify him *in via misericordiæ*, "in the way of mercy" and bounty, charity and forgiveness, love and fair compliances: there is no greater charity in the world than to save a soul, nothing that pleases God better, nothing that can be in our hands greater or more noble, nothing that can be a more lasting and delightful honor, than that a perishing soul—snatched from the flames of an intolerable hell, and borne to heaven on the wings of piety and mercy by the ministry of angels, and the graces of the Holy Spirit,—shall to eternal ages bless God and bless thee; Him, for the author and finisher of salvation, and thee for the minister and charitable instrument: that bright star must needs look pleasantly on thy face for ever, which was by thy hand placed there, and, had it not been for thy ministry, might have been a sooty coal in the regions of sorrow. Now, in order to this, God hath given us all some powers and ministries, by which we may by our charity promote this religion, and the great interest of souls: counsels and prayers, preaching and writing, passionate desires and fair examples going before others in the way of godliness, and bearing the torch before them, that they may see the way and walk in it. This is a charity, that is prepared more or less for every one; and, by the way, we should do well to consider, what we have done towards it. For as it will be a strange arrest at the day of judgment to Dives, that he fed high and suffered Lazarus to starve, and every garment,—that lies by thee and perishes, while thy naked brother does so too for want of it,—shall be a bill of indictment against thy unmerciful soul; so it will be in every instance: in what thou couldest profit thy brother and didst not, thou art accountable; and then tell over the times, in which thou hast prayed for the conversion of thy sinning brother; and compare the times together, and observe, whether thou hast not tempted him or betrayed him to sin, or encouraged him in it; or didst not hinder him, when thou mightest, more frequently than thou hast, humbly, and passionately, and charitably, and zealously, bowed thy head, and thy heart, and knees, to God to redeem that poor soul from hell, whither thou seest him descending with as much indiffer-

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ency as a stone into the bottom of the well. In this thing καλὸν ζηλοῦσθαι, "it is a good thing to be zealous," and put forth all your strength, for you can never go too far. But then be careful, that this zeal of thy neighbor's amendment be only expressed in ways of charity, not of cruelty, or importune justice. "He that strikes the prince for justice," as Solomon's expression is, "is a companion of murderers;" and he that out of zeal of religion, shall go to convert nations to his opinion by destroying Christians, whose faith is intire and summed up by the Apostles, this man breaks the ground with a sword, and sows tares, and waters the ground with blood, and ministers to envy and cruelty, to errors and mistake, and there comes up nothing but poppies to please the eye and fancy, disputes and hypocrisy, new summaries of religion estimated by measures of anger, and accursed principles; and so much of the religion as is necessary to salvation, is laid aside, and that brought forth that serves an interest, not holiness; that fills the schools of a proud man, but not that which will fill heaven. Any zeal is proper for religion, but the zeal of the sword and the zeal of anger; this is πικρία ζήλου, "the bitterness of zeal;"* and it is a certain temptation to every man against his duty: for if the sword turns preacher, and dictates propositions by empire instead of arguments, and engraves them in men's hearts with a poniard, that it shall be death to believe what I innocently and ignorantly am persuaded of, it must needs be unsafe to "try the spirits, to try all things," to make inquiry; and yet without this liberty, no man can justify himself before God and man, nor confidently say that his religion is best: since he cannot without a final danger make himself able to give a right sentence, and to follow that which he finds to be the best; this may ruin souls by making hypocrites, or careless and compliant against conscience or without it; but it does not save souls, though peradventure it should force them to a good opinion: this is inordination of zeal; for Christ,—by reproving St. Peter, drawing his sword, even in the cause of Christ, for his sacred, and yet injured person, διδάσκει μὴ χρῆσθαι μαχαίρᾳ, κἂν τὸν Θεὸν δοκεῖ τις ἐκδικεῖν (saith Theophylact,)—"teaches us

* James iii. 14.

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not to use the sword though in the cause of God, or for God himself;" because he will secure his own interest, only let him be served as himself is pleased to command: and it is like Moses's passion, it throws the tables of the law out of our hands, and breaks them in pieces out of indignation to see them broken. This is zeal, that is now in fashion, and hath almost spoiled religion; men, like the zealots of the Jews, cry up their sect, and in it their interest; ζηλοῦσι μαθητὰς, καὶ μαχαίρας ἀνασύρονται, "they affect disciples and fight against the opponents;" and we shall find in Scripture, that when the Apostles began to preach the meekness of the Christian institution, salvations and promises, charity and humility, there was a zeal set up against them; the Apostles were zealous for the gospel, the Jews were zealous for the law: and see what different effects these two zeals did produce; the zeal of the law came to this, ἐθορύβουν τὴν πόλιν, and ἐδίωξαν μέχρι θανάτου, and ἀνασύρονται, and ὀχλοποιήσαντες, "they stirred up the city, they made tumults, they persecuted this way unto the death, they got letters from the high-priest, they kept Damascus with a garrison," they sent parties of soldiers to silence and to imprison the preachers, and thought they did God service when they put the Apostles to death, and they swore 'neither to eat nor to drink, till they had killed Paul.' It was an old trick of the Jewish zeal,

> Non monstrare vias, eadem nisi sacra colenti:
> Quæsitum ad fontem solos deducere verpos. Juv. xiv. 104.

They would not show the way to a Samaritan, nor give a cup of cold water but to a circumcised brother; that was their zeal. But the zeal of the Apostles was this, they preached publicly and privately, they prayed for all men, they wept to God for the hardness of men's hearts, they 'became all things to all men, that they might gain some;' they travelled through deeps and deserts, they endured the heat of the Sirian star, and the violence of Euroclydon, winds and tempests, seas and prisons, mockings and scourgings, fastings and poverty, labor and watching, they endured every man and wronged no man, they would do any good thing and suffer any evil, if they had but hopes to prevail on a soul; they persuaded men meekly, they entreated them humbly, they convinced them powerfully, they watched

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for their good, but meddled not with their interest; and this is the Christian zeal, the zeal of meekness, the zeal of charity, the zeal of patience, ἐν τούτοις καλὸν ζηλοῦσθαι, "in these it is good to be zealous," for you can never go far enough.

2. The next measure of zeal is prudence; for, as charity is the matter of zeal; so is discretion the manner. It must always be for good to our neighbor, and there need no rules for the conducting of that, provided the end be consonant to the design, that is, that charity be intended, and charity be done. But there is a zeal also of religion or worshipping, and this hath more need of measures and proper cautions. For religion can turn into a snare; it may be abused into superstition, it may become weariness in the spirit, and tempt to tediousness, to hatred, and despair: and many persons, through their indiscreet conduct, and furious marches, and great loads taken on tender shoulders and inexperienced, have come to be perfect haters of their joy, and despisers of all their hopes; being like dark lanterns, in which a candle burns bright, but the body is encompassed with a crust and a dark cloud of iron; and these men keep the fires and light of holy propositions within them, but the darkness of hell, the hardness of a vexed heart, hath shaded all the light, and makes it neither apt to warm nor to enlighten others, but it turns to fire within, a fever and a distemper dwell there, and religion is become their torment.

1. Therefore our zeal must never carry us beyond that which is profitable. There are many institutions, customs, and usages, introduced into religion on very fair motives, and apted to great necessities; but to imitate those things, when they are disrobed of their proper ends, is an importune zeal, and signifies nothing but a forward mind, and an easy heart, and an imprudent head; unless these actions can be invested with other ends and useful purposes. The primitive church were strangely inspired with a zeal of virginity, in order to the necessities of preaching and travelling, and easing the troubles and temptations of persecution; but when the necessity went on, and drove the holy men into deserts, that made colleges of religious, and their manner of life was such, so united, so poor, so dressed, that they must love *more non seculari*, "after the manner of men divorced from the usual intercourses of the

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world;" still their desire of single life increased, because the old necessity lasted, and a new one did supervene. Afterward, the case was altered, and then the single life was not to be chosen for itself, nor yet imitation of the first precedents; for it could not be taken out from their circumstances and be used alone. He therefore that thinks he is a more holy person for being a virgin or a widower, or that is bound to be so, because they were so; or that he cannot be a religious person because he is not so;—hath zeal indeed, but not according to knowlege. But now if the single state can be taken out and put to new appendages, and fitted to the end of another grace or essential duty of religion, it will well become a Christian zeal to choose it so long as it can serve the end with advantage and security. Thus also a zealous person is to choose his fastings; while they are necessary to him, and are acts of proper mortification, while he is tempted, or while he is under discipline, while he repents, or while he obeys; but some persons fast in zeal, but for nothing else; fast when they have no need, when there is need they should not; but call it religion to be miserable or sick; here their zeal is folly, for it is neither an act of religion nor of prudence, to fast when fasting probably serves no end of the spirit: and therefore in the fasting-days of the church, although it is warrant enough to us to fast, if we had no end to serve in it but the mere obedience, yet it is necessary that the superiors should not think the law obeyed, unless the end of the first institution be observed: a fasting-day is a day of humiliation and prayer; and fasting being nothing itself but wholly the handmaid of a further grace, ought not to be divested of its holiness and sanctification, and left like the walls of a ruinous church where there is no duty performed to God, but there remains something of that which used to minister to religion. The want of this consideration hath caused so much scandal and dispute, so many snares and schisms, concerning ecclesiastical fasts. For when it was undressed and stripped of all the ornaments and useful appendages; when from a solemn day it grew to be common; from thence to be less devout by being less seldom and less useful; and then it passed from a day of religion to be a day of order, and from fasting till night to fasting till evening-song, and evening-song to be sung about

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twelve o'clock; and from fasting it was changed to a choice of food, from eating nothing to eating fish, and that the letter began to be stood on, and no usefulness remained but what every one of his own piety should put into it, but nothing was enjoined by the law, nothing of that exacted by the superiors, then the law fell into disgrace, and the design became suspected, and men were first ensnared and then scandalised, and then began to complain without remedy, and at last took remedy themselves without authority; the whole affair fell into a disorder and mischief; and zeal was busy on both sides, and on both sides was mistaken, because they fell not on the proper remedy, which was to reduce the law to the usefulness and advantages of its first intention. But this I intended not to have spoken.

2. Our zeal must never carry us beyond that which is safe. Some there are who in their first attempts and entries on religion, while the passion that brought them in remains, undertake things as great as their highest thoughts; no repentance is sharp enough, no charities expensive enough, no fastings afflictive enough, then *totis quinquatribus orant;* and finding some deliciousness at the first contest, and in that activity of their passion, they make vows to bind themselves for ever to this state of delicacies. The onset is fair; but the event is this. The age of a passion is not long, and the flatulent spirit being breathed out, the man begins to abate of his first heats, and is ashamed; but then he considers that all was not necessary, and therefore he will abate something more; and from something to something, at last it will come to just nothing, and the proper effect of this is, indignation and hatred of holy things, an impudent spirit, carelessness or despair. Zeal sometimes carries a man into temptation: and he that never thinks he loves God dutifully or acceptably, because he is not imprisoned for him or undone, or designed to martyrdom, may desire a trial that will undo him. It is like fighting of a duel to show our valor. Stay till the king commands you to fight and die, and then let zeal do its noblest offices. This irregularity and mistake was too frequent in the primitive church, when men and women would strive for death, and be ambitious to feel the hangman's sword; some miscarried in the attempt, and became

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sad examples of the unequal yoking a frail spirit with a zealous driver.

3. Let zeal never transport us to attempt any thing but what is possible. M. Teresa made a vow, that she would do always that which was absolutely the best. But neither could her understanding always tell her which was so, nor her will always have the same fervors: and it must often breed scruples, and sometimes tediousness, and wishes that the vow were unmade. He that vows never to have an ill thought, never to commit an error, hath taken a course, that his little infirmities shall become crimes, and certainly be imputed by changing his unavoidable infirmity into vow-breach. Zeal is a violence to a man's spirit, and unless the spirit be secured by the proper nature of the duty, and the circumstances of the action, and the possibilities of the man; it is like a great fortune in the meanest person, it bears him beyond his limit, and breaks him into dangers and passions, transportations, and all the furies of disorder, that can happen to an abused person.

4. Zeal is not safe, unless it be *in re probabili* too, it must be "in a likely matter." For we that find so many excuses to untie all our just obligations, and distinguish our duty into so much fineness, that it becomes like leaf-gold, apt to be gone at every breath; it cannot be prudent that we zealously undertake what is not probable to be effected: if we do, the event can be nothing but portions of the former evil, scruple and snares, shameful retreats and new fantastic principles. In all our undertakings we must consider what is our state of life, what our natural inclinations, what is our society, and what are our dependences; by what necessities we are borne down, by what hopes we are biassed; and by these let us measure our heats and their proper business. A zealous man runs up a sandy hill; the violence of motion is his greatest hinderance; and a passion in religion destroys as much of our evenness of spirit, as it sets forward any outward work; and therefore, although it be a good circumstance and degree of a spiritual duty, so long as it is within, and relative to God and ourselves, so long it is a holy flame; but if it be in an outward duty, or relative to our neighbors, or if an instance not necessary, it sometimes spoils the action, and always endangers it. But I must remember, we

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live in an age in which men have more need of new fires to be kindled within them, and round about them, than of any thing to allay their forwardness: there is little or no zeal now but the zeal of envy, and killing as many as they can, and damning more than they can; πύρωσις and καπνὸς πυρώσεως, "smoke and lurking fires" do corrode and secretly consume: therefore this discourse is less necessary. A physician would have but small employment near the Riphæan mountains, if he could cure nothing but calentures; catarrhs and dead palsies, colds and consumptions are their evils, and so is lukewarmness and deadness of spirit the proper maladies of our age: for though some are hot, when they are mistaken, yet men are cold in a righteous cause; and the nature of this evil is to be insensible; and the men are farther from a cure, because they neither feel their evil, nor perceive their danger. But of this I have already given account: and to it I shall only add what an old spiritual person told a novice in religion, asking him the cause why he so frequently suffered tediousness in his religious offices; *Nondum vidisti requiem quam speramus, nec tormenta quæ timemus;*—"Young man, thou hast not seen the glories which are laid up for the zealous and devout, nor yet beheld the flames which are prepared for the lukewarm, and the haters of strict devotion." But the Jews tell, that Adam having seen the beauties and tasted the delicacies of paradise, repented and mourned on the Indian mountains for three hundred years together: and we who have a great share in the cause of his sorrows, can by nothing be invited to a persevering, a great, a passionate religion, more than by remembering what he lost, and what is laid up for them whose hearts are burning lamps, and are all on fire with Divine love, whose flames are fanned with the wings of the Holy Dove, and whose spirits shine and burn with that fire, which the Holy Jesus came to enkindle on the earth.

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SUMMARY OF SERMON VI.

1 CORINTHIANS, CHAP. XV.—VERSE 32.

PART I.

THIS text is the epicure's proverb, begun on a weak mistake; thought witty by an undiscerning company; and prevailing greatly, because it strikes the fancy, &c. Reason why the pagans recommended sensuality in this life, because they thought there were no enjoyments in another; that the number of the days of darkness and the grave could not be told.

They are to be excused rather than us. They placed themselves in the order of beasts and birds, making their bodies nothing but receptacles of flesh and wine; and therefore they treated themselves accordingly. But then, why should we do the same things, who are led by other principles, under a more severe institution, with better notices of immortality? &c.

To reprove the follies of mankind and their improper motions towards felicity, the following topics are advanced:—

1. That plenty, and the pleasures of the world, are no proper instruments of happiness.

2. That intemperance is a certain enemy to it, making life unpleasant, and death intolerable.

3. Some rules and measures of temperance, &c. given.

I. Plenty and the pleasures of the world are no proper instruments of felicity. It is necessary that a man have some violence done to himself before he can receive them: this explained, and the bountiful provision made for man by nature considered. If we go beyond what is needful, as we find

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sometimes more than was promised, and very often more than we need, so we disorder the certainty of our felicity, by putting that to hazard which nature hath secured. For it is not certain, that, if we desire to have the wealth of Susa, robes of purple, and the dainties of Vitellius, we shall never want. It is not nature that desires these things, but lust and violence: by a disease we entered into the passion and the necessity, and in that state of trouble it is likely we may ever dwell, unless we reduce our appetites to nature's measures: this topic enlarged on, and illustrated by examples. Happiness of the virtuous poor man in his cottage, his sound sleep, his quiet breast, his composed mind, his easy provision, his sober night, his healthful morning, and joyful heart, contrasted with the noises, the diseases, the passions, the violent and unnatural appetites, which fill the houses of the luxurious and the heart of the ambitious. Illustrations and examples.

2. Intemperance in eating and drinking is the most opposite course to the epicure's design in this world; and the voluptuous man has the least share of pleasure: this topic enlarged on.

II. Second consideration: in which it is shown, 1. that intemperance is an enemy to health: 2. it gives less pleasure than the temperate table of the hermit or laborer, &c.: 3. it is an impure fountain of vice: 4. it is a destruction of wisdom: 5. it brings man to disrepute and a bad character.

1. It is an enemy to health, which has been called a "handle by which we can apprehend and perceive pleasures; and that sauce which alone makes life delicious:" for what content can a full table administer to a man in a fever? The excellency and delight of health described: also the feelings of a person restored to it from disease.

Health carries us to church, and makes us rejoice in the communion of saints: but an intemperate table makes us to lose all this; being one of those sins which St. Paul affirms to

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be *manifest, leading before unto judgment.* It bears part of its punishment in this life, and has this appendage, that unless it be repented of, it is not remitted in the life to come; so that it is punished both here and hereafter; which the Scripture does not affirm of all sins. But in this the sinner gives sentence with his mouth, and brings it to execution with his hands.

Instances of gluttony among the ancient Romans, and the evils which thence ensued to them; fevers, lethargy, and death: so that the epicure's genial proverb might well be a little altered, *Let us eat and drink, for by this means to-morrow we shall die.* But this is not all; for such men lead a healthless life; they are long in dying, and die in torment. Folly of men, who have a terrible apprehension of death, and thus increase the pain and evil of it. Folly of those who go to temples or churches, and pray that God would give them healthy bodies, &c. and when they arise from their prayers, pour in loads of flesh and seas of wine, lest there should not be matter enough for disease: this topic enlarged on.

The temptations which men meet with from without, in these cases, are in themselves most unreasonable, and soonest confuted. He that tempts me to drink beyond measure, what does he, but tempt me to lay aside my reason, or civilly invite me to a fever? this topic dilated on.

Report concerning Socrates, that when Athens was destroyed by the plague, he escaped, through the spare and severe diet to which he had accustomed himself: he had enough for health and study, philosophy and religion, for the temples and the Academy; but he had no superfluities to bring on groans and sickly nights. All the world of gluttons is convinced of the excellency of temperance in order to moral felicity and health; for after they have lost both, they are obliged to go to temperance to recover them. Fools, not to keep their health by the means which they seek to restore it! Such men (as St. Paul's

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expression is) *heap up wrath against the day of wrath.* When the heathens feasted their gods they gave nothing but a fat ox, a ram, or a kid; poured a little wine on the altar, and burnt a little frankincense: but when they feasted themselves, they had vessels of Campanian wine, turtles of Liguria, Sicilian beeves, &c. the same we do. So little do we spend in charity and on religion; so much on ourselves, to make ourselves sick, that we seem to be in love with our own mischief, &c.

PART II.

2. A constant full table is less pleasant than the temperate provisions of the virtuous, or the natural banquets of the poor. "Thanks be to the God of nature, (said Epicurus) that he hath made that which is necessary to be ready at hand, and easy to be had; whilst that which cannot easily be obtained is not necessary at all;" which in effect is to say, it cannot be constantly pleasant: for necessity and want make the appetite, and the appetite makes the pleasure: so that men are greatly mistaken when they despise the poor man's table, &c.

Fortune and art give delicacies, nature gives meat and drink; and what nature gives, fortune cannot take away, whilst every change can take away that which is only given by fortune, &c. Moreover, he that feasts every day, feasts no day; and however a man treats himself, he will sometimes need to be refreshed beyond it: but what will he have for a festival, who wears crowns every day? Even a perpetual fulness will make you glad to beg pleasure from emptiness, and variety from humble fare: this topic enlarged on, and illustrated.

3. Intemperance is the nurse of vice. By the experience of the world it is the nourisher of lust: and no man dare pray to God for a pure soul in a chaste body, if he lives intemperately, *making provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts of it;* for in

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this case he will find 'that which enters him shall defile him,' more than he can be cleansed by vain prayers that come from his tongue and not from his heart: particular evils specified to which intemperance gives rise.

4. Intemperance is a perfect destruction of wisdom. "A full-gorged belly never produced a sprighly mind;" and therefore the Cretans were called *slow-bellies* by St. Paul, out of their own poet: this topic illustrated by many examples and apophthegms. The heavy and foul state of an intemperate person compared to that of the sun, clouded with fogs and vapors, when it has drawn too freely from the moisture of nature. But temperance is reason's girdle, and passion's bridle; the strength of the soul, and the foundation of virtue.

5. After what has been said there is less need to add that intemperance is a dishonor to the nature, person, and manners of a man. But naturally men are ashamed of it, and night is generally a veil to their gluttony and drunkenness.

III. Third general consideration; respecting the measures of our eating and drinking, that neither our virtue nor our conscience may fall into an evil snare.

1. The first is our "natural needs:" these are the measures of nature, 'that the body be free from pain, and the soul from violence.' Hunger, thirst, and cold, are the natural diseases of the body; food and raiment are their remedies, and therefore are the measures. But in this there are two cautions. 1. Hunger and thirst are only to be extinguished while they are violent or troublesome; and not to the utmost extent and possibilities of nature: this enlarged on. 2. Hunger and thirst must be natural, not artificial and provoked: for many men make necessities to themselves, and then think they are bound to provide for them: this enlarged on.

2. Reason is the second measure, or rather the rule whereby we judge of intemperance; for whatsoever loads of meat and

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drink make the reason useless or troubled, they are effects of this deformity: not that reason is the adequate measure; for a man may be intemperate on other causes, though he do not force his understanding and trouble his head: this topic enlarged on.

3. Though reason is strictly to be preserved, yet the measures of nature may be enlarged beyond the bounds of prime and common necessity; for besides hunger and thirst, there are labors both of the body and of the mind, and loads on the spirit from its communication with the indispositions of the body; and as the laboring man may be supplied with larger quantities, so may the student and contemplative man with more delicious and sprightly nutriment, &c.: but in these cases, necessity, prudence, and experience, are to make the measures and the rule.

4. Sorrow and a wounded spirit may as well be provided for in the quantity and quality of meat and drink, as any other disease; and this disease by this remedy as well as by any other: topic enlarged on.

5. Even when a man has no necessity on him, natural or artificial, it is lawful in some cases of eating and drinking to receive pleasure, and to intend it. But in this case of conscience, these cautions are to be observed:

1. So long as nature ministers the pleasure and not art, it is materially innocent. 2. Let all the pleasure of meat and drink be such as can minister to health, and be within the former bounds. 3. It is lawful, when a man needs meat, to choose the pleasanter, merely for its pleasure. 4. Let the pleasure, as it comes with meat, so also pass away with it. 5. Let pleasure not be the principal, but used as a servant. 6. Let pleasure, as it is used within the limits of nature and prudence, be changed into religion and thankfulness.

To sum up these particulars: there are many cautions to

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make our pleasure safe, but any thing can make it inordinate; and then scarcely any thing can keep it from becoming dangerous; and the pleasure of the honey will not pay for the smart of the sting. Conclusion, on the madness of those who love to swallow death, diseases, and dishonor, with an appetite which no reason can restrain.

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SERMON VI.

THE HOUSE OF FEASTING; OR, THE EPICURE'S MEASURES.

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1 CORINTHIANS, CHAP. XV.—VERSE 32.

Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.

PART I.

THIS is the epicure's proverb, begun on a weak mistake, started by chance from the discourses of drink, and thought witty by the undiscerning company, and prevailed infinitely, because it struck their fancy luckily, and maintained the merry meeting; but as it happens commonly to such discourses, so this also, when it comes to be examined by the consultations of the morning, and the sober hours of the day, it seems the most witless, and the most unreasonable in the world. When Seneca (ep. 18.) describes the spare diet of Epicurus and Metrodorus, he uses this expression: *Liberaliora sunt alimenta carceris: sepositos ad capitale supplicium non tam anguste, qui occisurus est, pascit:* "The prison keeps a better table; and he that is to kill the criminal to-morrow morning, gives him a better supper overnight." By this he intended to represent his meal to be very short; for as dying persons have but little stomach to feast high, so they that mean to cut their throat, will think it a vain expense to please it with delicacies, which, after the first alteration, must be poured on the ground, and looked on as the worst part of the accursed thing. And there is also the same proportion of unreasonableness, that because men shall "die to-morrow," and by the sentence and unalterable decree

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of God they are now descending to their graves, that therefore they should first destroy their reason, and then force dull time to run faster, that they may die sottish as beasts, and speedily as a fly: but they thought there was no life after this; or if there were, it was without pleasure, and every soul thrust into a hole, and a dorter of a span's length allowed for his rest, and for his walk; and in the shades below no numbering of healths by the numeral letters of Philenium's name, no fat mullets, no oysters of Lucrinus, no Lesbian or Chian wines. *Τοῦτο σαφῶς, ἄνθρωπε, μαθὼν εὔφραινε σεαυτόν.* Therefore now enjoy the delicacies of nature, and feel the descending wines distilled through the limbeck of thy tongue, and larynx, and suck the delicious juices of fishes, the marrow of the laborious ox, and the tender lard of Apulian swine, and the condited bellies of the scarus; but lose no time, for the sun drives hard, and the shadow is long, and "the days of mourning are at hand," but the number of the days of darkness and the grave cannot be told.

Thus they thought they discoursed wisely, and their wisdom was turned into folly; for all their arts of providence, and witty securities of pleasure, were nothing but unmanly prologues to death, fear, and folly, sensuality and beastly pleasures. But they are to be excused rather than we. They placed themselves in the order of beasts and birds, and esteemed their bodies nothing but receptacles of flesh and wine, larders and pantries; and their soul the fine instrument of pleasure and brisk perception of relishes and gusts, reflections and duplications of delight; and therefore they treated themselves accordingly. But then, why we should do the same things, who are led by other principles, and a more severe institution, and better notices of immortality, who understand what shall happen to a soul hereafter, and know that this time is but a passage to eternity, this body but a servant to the soul, this soul a minister to the Spirit, and the whole man in order to God and to felicity; this, I say, is more unreasonable than to eat *aconita* to preserve our health, and to enter into the flood that we may die a dry death; this is perfect contradiction to the state of good things, whither we are designed, and to all the principles of a wise philosophy, whereby we are instructed that we may become "wise unto

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salvation." That I may therefore do some assistances towards the curing the miseries of mankind, and reprove the follies and improper motions towards felicity, I shall endeavor to represent to you—

1. That plenty and the pleasures of the world are no proper instruments of felicity.

2. That intemperance is a certain enemy to it; making life unpleasant, and death troublesome and intolerable.

3. I shall add the rules and measures of temperance in eating and drinking, that nature and grace may join to the constitution of man's felicity.

I. Plenty and the pleasures of the world are no proper instruments of felicity. It is necessary that a man have some violence done to himself, before he can receive them: for nature's bounds are, *non esurire, non sitire, non algere*, "to be quit from hunger, and thirst, and cold," that is, to have nothing on us that puts us to pain; against which she hath made provisions by the fleece of the sheep, and the skins of the beasts, by the waters of the fountain, and the herbs of the field, and of these no good man is destitute, for that share that he can need to fill those appetites and necessities, he cannot otherwise avoid: *τῶν ἀρκούντων οὐδεὶς πένης ἐστί*. For it is unimaginable that nature should be a mother, natural and indulgent to the beasts of the forest, and the spawn of fishes, to every plant and *fungus*, to cats and owls, to moles and bats, making her storehouses always to stand open to them; and that, for the lord of all these, even to the noblest of her productions, she should have made no provisions, and only produced in us appetites sharp as the stomach of wolves, troublesome as the tiger's hunger, and then run away, leaving art and chance, violence and study, to feed us and to clothe us. This is so far from truth, that we are certainly more provided for by nature than all the world besides; for every thing can minister to us; and we can pass into none of nature's cabinets, but we can find our table spread: so that what David said to God, 'Whither shall I go from thy presence? If I go to heaven, thou art there; if I descend to the deep, thou art there also; if I take the wings of the morning, and flee into the uttermost parts of the wilderness, even there thou wilt find me out, and thy right hand shall up-

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hold me,' we may say it concerning our table, and our wardrobe: if we go into the fields, we find them tilled by the mercies of heaven, and watered with showers from God to feed us, and to clothe us; if we go down into the deep, there God hath multiplied our stores, and filled a magazine which no hunger can exhaust; the air drops down delicacies, and the wilderness can sustain us, and all that is in nature, that which feeds lions, and that which the ox eats, that which the fishes live on, and that which is the provision for the birds, all that can keep us alive; and if we consider that of the beasts and birds, for whom nature hath provided but one dish, it may be flesh or fish, or herbs or flies, and these also we secure with guards from them, and drive away birds and beasts from that provision which nature made for them, yet seldom can we find that any of these perish with hunger: much rather shall we find that we are secured by the securities proper for the more noble creatures by that Providence that disposes all things, by that mercy that gives us all things, which to other creatures are ministered singly; by that labor, that can procure what we need; by that wisdom, that can consider concerning future necessities; by that power, that can force it from inferior creatures; and by that temperance, which can fit our meat to our necessities. For if we go beyond what is needful, as we find sometimes more than was promised, and very often more than we need, so we disorder the certainty of our felicity, by putting that to hazard which nature hath secured. For it is not certain, that if we desire to have the wealth of Susa, or garments stained with the blood of the Tyrian fish, that if we desire to feed like Philoxenus, or to have tables loaden like the boards of Vitellius, that we shall never want. It is not nature that desires these things, but lust and violence; and by a disease we entered into the passion and the necessity, and in that state of trouble it is likely we may dwell for ever, unless we reduce our appetites to nature's measures.

> Si ventri bene, si lateri est pedibusque tuis, nil
> Divitiæ poterunt regales addere majus.*

And therefore it is, that plenty and pleasures are not the proper

* Horace. Ep. i. 12. 5.

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instruments of felicity; because felicity is not a jewel that can be locked in one man's cabinet. God intended that all men should be made happy; and he, that gave to all men the same natural desires, and to all men provision of satisfactions by the same meats and drinks, intended, that it should not go beyond that measure of good things, which corresponds to those desires which all men naturally have.

He that cannot be satisfied with common provision, hath a bigger need than he that can; it is harder, and more contingent, and more difficult, and more troublesome, for him to be satisfied; *βρυάζω τῷ κατὰ τὸ σωμάτιον ἡδεῖ, ὕδατι καὶ ἄρτῳ χρώμενος, προσπτύω ταῖς ἐκ πολυτελείας ἡδοναῖς*, said Epicurus; "I feed sweetly on bread and water, those sweet and easy provisions of the body, and I defy the pleasures of costly provisions;" and the man was so confident that he had the advantage over wealthy tables, that he thought himself happy as the immortal gods, *ἑτοῖμος ἔρχεσθαι τῷ Διὶ ὑπὲρ εὐδαιμονίας διαγωνίζεσθαι, μάζαν ἔχων καὶ ὕδωρ*: for these provisions are easy, they are to be gotten without amazing cares; no man needs to flatter if he can live as nature did intend: *Magna pars libertatis est bene moratus venter:** he need not swell his accounts, and intricate his spirit with arts of subtilty and contrivance; he can be free from fears, and the chances of the world cannot concern him. And this is true, not only in those severe and anchoretical and philosophical persons, who lived meanly as a sheep, and without variety as the Baptist, but in the same proportion it is also true in every man, that can be contented with that which is honestly sufficient. Maximus Tyrius considers concerning the felicity of Diogenes, a poor Sinopean, having not so much nobility as to be born in the better parts of Greece: but he saw that he was compelled by no tyrant to speak or do ignobly; he had no fields to till, and therefore took no care to buy cattle, and to hire servants; he was not distracted when a rent-day came, and feared not when the wise Greeks played the fool and fought who should be lord of that field that lay between Thebes and Athens; he laughed to see men scramble for dirty silver, and spend ten thousand Attic talents for the getting the reve-

* Seneca.

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nues of two hundred philippics; he went with his staff and bag into the camp of the Phocenses, and the soldiers reverenced his person and despised his poverty, and it was truce with him whosoever had wars; and the diadem of kings, and the purple of the emperors, the mitre of high-priests, and the divining-staff of soothsayers, were things of envy and ambition, the purchase of danger, and the rewards of a mighty passion; and men entered into them by trouble and extreme difficulty, and dwelt under them as a man under a falling roof, or as Damocles under the tyrant's sword,

> Nunc lateri incumbens—mox deinde supinus,
> Nunc cubat in faciem, nunc recto pectore surgens,

sleeping like a condemned man; and let there be what pleasure man can dream of in such broken slumbers, yet the fear of waking from this illusion, and parting from this fantastic pleasure, is a pain and torment which the imaginary felicity cannot pay for. *Cui cum paupertate bene convenit, dives est: non qui parum habet, sed qui plus cupit, pauper est.* All our trouble is from within us; and if a dish of lettuce and a clear fountain can cool all my heats, so that I shall have neither thirst nor pride, lust nor revenge, envy nor ambition, I am lodged in the bosom of felicity; and indeed no men sleep so soundly, as they that lay their head on nature's lap. For a single dish, and a clear chalice lifted from the springs, can cure my hunger and thirst: but the meat of Ahasuerus's feast cannot satisfy my ambition and my pride. *Nulla re egere, Dei proprium; quam paucissimis autem, Deo proximum,* said Socrates. He therefore that hath the fewest desires and the most quiet passions, whose wants are soon provided for, and whose possessions cannot be disturbed with violent fears, he that dwells next door to satisfaction, and can carry his needs and lay them down where he please,—this man is the happy man; and this is not to be done in great designs and swelling fortunes, *Dives jam factus desiit gaudere lente; carius edit et bibit; at lætatur minus, quam pauper, qui in quolibet imparato, inempto gaudet, et facile epulari potest; dives nunquam.* For as it is in plants which nature thrusts forth from her navel, she makes regular provisions, and dresses them with strength and orna-

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ment, with easiness and full stature; but if you thrust a jessamine there where she would have had a daisy grow, or bring the tall fir from dwelling in his own country, and transport the orange or the almond-tree near the fringes of the north-star, nature is displeased, and becomes unnatural, and starves her sucklings, and renders you a return less than your charge and expectation: so it is in all our appetites; when they are natural and proper, nature feeds them and makes them healthful and lusty, as the coarse issue of the Scythian clown; she feeds them and makes them easy without cares and costly passion; but if you thrust an appetite into her which she intended not, she gives you sickly and uneasy banquets, you must struggle with her for every drop of milk she gives beyond her own needs: you may get gold from her entrails, and at a great charge provide ornaments for your queens and princely women: but our lives are spent in the purchase; and when you have got them, you must have more; for these cannot content you, nor nourish the spirit. *Ad supervacua sudatur;* "A man must labor infinitely to get more than he needs;" but to drive away thirst and hunger, a man needs not sit in the fields of the oppressed poor, nor lead armies, nor break his sleep, *et contumeliosam humanitatem pati,* "and to suffer shame," and danger, and envy, and affront, and all the retinue of infelicity.

——————— Quis non Epicurum
Suspicit, exigui lætum plantaribus horti? Juv. xiii. 122.

If men did but know, what felicity dwells in the cottage of a virtuous poor man, how sound his sleeps, how quiet his breast, how composed his mind, how free from care, how easy his provision, how healthful his morning, how sober his night, how moist his mouth, how joyful his heart, they would never admire the noises, and the diseases, the throng of passions, and the violence of unnatural appetites, that fill the houses of the luxurious and the heart of the ambitious.

Nam neque divitibus contingunt gaudia solis.
Hor. Ep. i. 17. 9.

These which you call pleasures, are but the imagery and fantastic appearances, and such appearances even poor men may

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have. It is like felicity, that the king of Persia should come to Babylon in the winter, and to Susa in the summer; and be attended with all the servants of one hundred and twenty-seven provinces, and with all the princes of Asia. It is like this, that Diogenes went to Corinth in the time of vintage, and to Athens when winter came; and instead of courts, visited the temples and the schools, and was pleased in the society of scholars and learned men, and conversed with the students of all Asia and Europe. If a man loves privacy, the poor fortune can have that when princes cannot; if he loves noises, he can go to markets and to courts, and may glut himself with strange faces, and strange voices, and stranger manners, and the wild designs of all the world: and when that day comes in which we shall die, nothing of the eating and drinking remains, nothing of the pomp and luxury, but the sorrow to part with it, and shame to have dwelt there where wisdom and virtue seldom come, unless it be to call men to sober counsels, to a plain, and a severe, and a more natural way of living; and when Lucian derides the dead princes and generals, and says that in hell they go up and down selling salt-meats and crying muscles, or begging; and he brings to Philip of Macedon, *ἐν γωνιδίῳ τινὶ μισθοῦ ἀκούμενον τὰ σαθρὰ τῶν ὑποδημάτων*, "mending of shoes in a little stall;" he intended to represent that in the shades below, and in the state of the grave, the princes and voluptuous have a being different from their present plenty; but that their condition is made contemptible and miserable by its disproportion to their lost and perishing voluptuousness. The result is this, that Tiresias (Νεκ. 21.) told the ghost of Menippus, inquiring what state of life was nearest to felicity, *Ὁ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἄριστος βίος, καὶ σωφρονέστερος*, "the private life, that which is freest from tumult and vanity," noise and luxury, business and ambition, nearest to nature and a just entertainment to our necessities; that life is nearest to felicity. *Τοιαῦτα λῆρον ἡγησάμενος, τοῦτο μόνον ἐξ ἅπαντος θηράσῃ, ὅπως, τὸ παρὸν εὖ θέμενος, παραδράμῃς γελῶν τὰ πολλὰ καί περὶ μηδὲν ἐσπουδακὼς*, therefore despise the swellings and the diseases of a disordered life, and a proud vanity; be troubled for no outward thing beyond its merit, enjoy the present temperately, and you cannot choose

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but be pleased to see that you have so little share in the follies and miseries of the intemperate world.

2. Intemperance in eating and drinking is the most contrary course to the epicure's design in the world; and the voluptuous man hath the least of pleasure; and on this proposition the consideration is more material and more immediately reducible to practice, because in eating and drinking, men please themselves so much, and have the necessities of nature to usher in the inordination of gluttony and drunkenness, and our need leads in vice by the hand, that we know not how to distinguish our friend from our enemy; and St. Austin is sad on this point; "Thou, O Lord, hast taught me that I should take my meat as I take my physic; but while I pass from the trouble of hunger to the quietness of satisfaction, in the very passage I am ensnared by the cords of my own concupiscence. Necessity 'bids me pass, but I have no way to pass from hunger to fulness, but over the bridge of pleasure; and although health and life be the cause of eating and drinking, yet pleasure, a dangerous pleasure, thrusts herself into attendance, and sometimes endeavors to be the principal: and I do that for pleasure's sake which I would only do for health; and yet they have distinct measures, whereby they can be separated, and that which is enough for health is too little for delight, and that which is for my delight destroys my health, and still it is uncertain for what end I do indeed desire; and the worst of the evil is this, that the soul is glad because it is uncertain, and that an excuse is ready, that under the pretence of health, *obumbret negotium voluptatis*, 'the design of pleasure may be advanced and protected.'" How far the ends of natural pleasure may lawfully be enjoyed, I shall afterward consider: in the mean time, if we remember that the epicure's design is pleasure principally, we may the better reprove his folly by considering that intemperance is a plain destruction to all that which can give real and true pleasure.

II. It is an enemy to health, without which it is impossible to feel any thing of corporal pleasure. 2. A constant full table hath in it less pleasure than the temperate provisions of the hermit or the labourer, or the philosophical table of

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scholars, and the just pleasures of the virtuous. 3. Intemperance is an impure fountain of vice, and a direct nurse of uncleanness. 4. It is a destruction of wisdom. 5. It is a dishonor and disreputation to the person and the nature of the man.

1. It is an enemy to health; which is, as one calls it, *ansa voluptatum et condimentum vitæ;* it is "that handle by which we can apprehend and perceive pleasures, and that sauce that only makes life delicate;" for what content can a full table administer to a man in a fever? And he that hath a sickly stomach, admires at his happiness, that can feast with cheese and garlic, unctuous beverages, and the low-tasted spinach: health is the opportunity of wisdom, the fairest scene of religion, the advantages of the glorifications of God, the charitable ministries to men; it is a state of joy and thanksgiving, and in every of its period feels a pleasure from the blessed emanations of a merciful Providence. The world does not minister, does not feel, a greater pleasure, than to be newly delivered from the racks or the gratings of the stone, and the torments and convulsions of a sharp colic: and no organs, no harp, no lute, can sound out the praises of the Almighty Father so spritefully, as the man that rises from his bed of sorrows, and considers what an excellent difference he feels from the groans and intolerable accents of yesterday. Health carries us to church, and makes us rejoice in the communion of saints: and an intemperate table makes us to lose all this. For this is one of those sins, which St. Paul affirms to be πρόδηλοι, προάγουσαι εἰς κρίσιν, 'manifest, leading before unto judgment.' It bears part of its punishment in this life, and hath this appendage, like the sin against the Holy Ghost, that it is not remitted in this world, nor in the world to come; that is, if it be not repented of, it is punished here and hereafter, which the Scripture does not affirm concerning all sins, and all cases.

But in this the sinner gives sentence with his mouth; and brings it to execution with his hands;

> Pœna tamen præsens, cum tu deponis amictum
> Turgidus, et crudum pavonem in balnea portas.*

* Juv. i. 143.

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The old gluttons among the Romans, Heliogabalus, Tigellius, Crispus, Montanus, *notæque per oppida buccæ*,* famous epicures, mingled their meats with vomitings; so did Vitellius; and entered into their baths to digest their pheasants, that they might speedily return to the mullet and the eels of Syene, and then they went home and drew their breath short till the morning, and it may be not at all before night:

> Hinc subitæ mortes, atque intestata senectus.†

Their age is surprised at a feast, and gives them not time to make their will, but either they are choked with a large morsel, and there is no room for the breath of the lungs, and the motions of the heart; or a fever burns their eyes out, or a quinsy punishes that intemperate throat that had no religion, but the eating of the fat sacrifices, the portions of the poor and of the priest; or else they are condemned to a lethargy if their constitutions be dull; and, if active, it may be they are wild with watching.

> Plurimus hic æger moritur vigilando: sed illum
> Languorem peperit cibus imperfectus, et hærens
> Ardenti stomacho. ‡————

So that the epicure's genial proverb may be a little altered, and say, 'Let us eat and drink, for by this means to-morrow we shall die;' but that is not all, for these men lead a healthless life; that is, are long, are every day dying, and at last die with torment. Menander was too short in his expression, *μόνος οὗτος φαίνεται εὐθάνατος*; that it is indeed death, but gluttony is "a pleasant death."

> ————Ἔχοντα πολλὴν τὴν χολάδα παχὺν,
> Καὶ μόλις λαλοῦντα, καὶ τὸ πνεῦμ' ἔχοντα πᾶν ἄνω,
> Ἐσθίοντα καὶ λέγοντα, Ἀήπομ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς.

For this is the glutton's pleasure, "To breathe short and difficultly, scarce to be able to speak, and when he does, he cries out, I die and rot with pleasure." But the folly is as much to be derided as the men to be pitied, that we daily see men afraid of death with a most intolerable apprehension, and yet increase

* Juv. iii. 35. † Ib. i. 144. ‡ Ib. iii. 217.

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the evil of it, the pain, and the trouble, and the suddenness of its coming, and the appendage of an insufferable eternity.

> Rem struere exoptas cæso bove, Mercuriumque
> Arcessis fibra:*——————

They pray for herds of cattle, and spend the breeders on feasts and sacrifices. For why do men go to temples and churches, and make vows to God and daily prayers, that God would give them a healthful body, and take away their gout, and their palsies, their fevers and apoplexies, the pains of the head and the gripings of the belly, and arise from their prayers, and pour in loads of flesh and seas of wine, lest there should not be matter enough for a lusty disease?

> Poscis opem nervis, corpusque fidele senectæ:
> Esto age: sed grandes patinæ tucetaque crassa
> Annuere his superos vetuere, Jovemque morantur.†

But this is enough that the rich glutton shall have his dead body condited and embalmed; he may be allowed to stink and suffer corruption while he is alive; these men are for the present living sinners and walking rottenness, and hereafter will be dying penitents and perfumed carcasses, and their whole felicity is lost in the confusions of their unnatural disorder. When Cyrus had espied Astyages and his fellows coming drunk from a banquet loaden with variety of follies and filthiness, their legs failing them, their eyes red and staring, cozened with a moist cloud and abused by a double object, their tongues full of sponges, and their heads no wiser, he thought they were poisoned, and he had reason: for what malignant quality can be more venomous and hurtful to a man than the effect of an intemperate goblet, and a full stomach? It poisons both the soul and the body. All poisons do not kill presently, and this will in process of time, and hath formidable effects at present.

But therefore methinks the temptations which men meet withal from without, are in themselves most unreasonable and soonest confuted by us. He that tempts me to drink beyond my measure, civilly invites me to a fever; and to lay aside my

* Pers. ii. 44. † Pers. ii. 41.

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reason as the Persian women did their garments and their modesty at the end of feasts: and all the question then will be, Which is the worse evil, to refuse your uncivil kindness, or to suffer a violent head-ache, or to lay up heaps big enough for an English surfeit? Creon in the tragedy said well;

> Κρεῖσσον δέ μοι νῦν πρός σ' ἀπέχθεσθαι, γύναι,
> Ἢ μαλθακισθέντ' ὕστερον μέγα στένειν,*

"It is better for me to grieve thee, O stranger, or to be affronted by thee, than to be tormented by thy kindness the next day and the morrow after;" and the freedman of Domitius, the father of Nero, suffered himself to be killed by his lord: and the son of Praxaspes by Cambyses, rather than they would exceed their own measures up to a full intemperance, and a certain sickness and dishonor. For, as Plutarch said well, to avoid the opinion of an uncivil man, or being clownish, to run into a pain of thy sides or belly, into madness or a head-ache, is the part of a fool and a coward, and of one that knows not how to converse with men, *citra pocula et nidorem*, in any thing but in the famelic smells of meat and vertiginous drinkings.

> Ebrius et petulans, qui nullum forte cecidit,
> Dat pœnas, noctem patitur lugentis amicum
> Pelidæ————————.†

"A drunkard and a glutton feels the torments of a restless night, although he hath not killed a man;" that is, just like murderers and persons of an affrighted conscience; so wakes the glutton, so broken, and sick, and disorderly are the slumbers of the drunkard. Now let the epicure boast his pleasures, and tell how he hath swallowed the price of provinces, and goblets of delicious flesh, purchased with the reward of souls; let him brag *furorem illum conviviorum, et fœdissimum patrimoniorum exitium culinam*, "of the madness of delicious feasts, and that his kitchen hath destroyed his patrimony;" let him tell that he takes in every day,

> Quantum Saufeia bibebat,‡

* Eur. Med. Porson. 292. † Juv. iii. 263.
‡ Juv. ix. 92.

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As much wine as would refresh the sorrows of forty languishing prisoners; or let him set up his vain-glorious triumph,

——ut quod 'multi Damalin meri,
Bassum Threicia' vicit 'amystide;'*

That he hath knocked down Damalis with the twenty-fifth bottle, and hath outfeasted Antony or Cleopatra's luxury: it is a goodly pleasure, and himself shall bear the honor.

——————— Rarum ac memorabile magni
Gutturis exemplum, conducendusque magister.†

But for the honor of his banquet he hath some ministers attending that he did not dream of; and in the midst of his loud laughter, the gripes of his belly, and the fevers of the brain, *pallor et genæ pendulæ, oculorum ulcera, tremulæ manus, furiales somni, inquies nocturna*, as Pliny reckons them, "paleness and hanging cheeks, ulcers of the eyes, and trembling hands, dead or distracted sleeps," these speak aloud, that to-day you 'eat and drink, that to-morrow you die,' and die for ever.

It is reported concerning Socrates, that when Athens was destroyed by the plague, he in the midst of all the danger escaped untouched by sickness, because by a spare and severe diet, he had within him no tumult of disorderly humors, no factions in his blood, no loads of moisture prepared for charnel-houses, or the sickly hospitals; but a vigorous heat, and a well-proportioned radical moisture; he had enough for health and study, philosophy and religion, for the temples and the academy, but no superfluities to be spent in groans and sickly nights: and all the world of gluttons is hugely convinced of the excellency of temperance in order to our moral felicity and health, because when themselves have left virtue, and sober diet, and counsels, and first lost their temperance, and then lost their health, they are forced to go to temperance and abstinence for their cure. *Vilis enim tenuisque mensa (ut loquuntur pueri) sanitatis mater est*,‡ then a thin diet and an humble body, fasting and emptiness, and arts of scattering their sin and sickness, is in season; but by the same means they

* Hor. Od. i. 36. 13. † Juv. ii. 99. ‡ Chrysostom.

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might preserve their health, by which they do restore it; but when they are well, if they return to their full tables and oppressing meals, their sickness was but like Vitellius's vomiting, that they might eat again; but so they may entail a fit of sickness on every full moon, till both their virtue and themselves decrease into the corruptions and rottenness of the grave. But if they delight in sharp fevers and horrid potions, in sour palates and heaps of that which must be carried forth, they may reckon their wealthy pleasures to be very great and many, if they will but tell them one by one with their sicknesses and the multitude of those evils they shall certainly feel, before they have thrown their sorrows forth. 'These men (as St. Paul's expression is) heap up wrath against the day of wrath, and the revelation of the day of God's most righteous judgments.' Strange therefore it is, that for the stomach, which is scarce a span long, there should be provided so many furnaces and ovens, huge fires and an army of cooks, cellars swimming with wine, and granaries sweating with corn; and that into one belly should enter the vintage of many nations, the spoils of distant provinces, and the shell-fishes of several seas. When the heathens feasted their gods, they gave nothing but a fat ox, a ram, or a kid; they poured a little wine on the altar, and burned a handful of gum: but when they feasted themselves, they had many vessels filled with Campanian wines, turtles of Liguria, Sicilian beeves, and wheat from Egypt, wild boars from Illyrium, and Grecian sheep, variety, and load, and cost, and curiosity: and so do we. It is so little we spend in religion, and so very much on ourselves, so little to the poor, and so without measure to make ourselves sick, that we seem to be in love with our own mischief, and so passionate for necessity and want, that we strive all the ways we can to make ourselves need more than nature intended. I end this consideration with the saying of the cynic: It is to be wondered at, that men eat so much for pleasure's sake; and yet for the same pleasure should not give over eating, and betake themselves to the delights of temperance, since to be healthful and holy is so great a pleasure. However, certain it is, that no man ever repented that he arose from the table sober, healthful, and with his wits about him; but very many have repented that they sat so

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long, till their bellies swelled, and their health, and their virtue, and their God, is departed from them.

SERMON VI.

PART II.

2. A CONSTANT full table is less pleasant than the temperate provisions of the virtuous, or the natural banquets of the poor. Χάρις τῇ μακαρίᾳ φύσει, ὅτι τὰ ἀναγκαῖα ἐποίησεν εὐπόριστα, τὰ δὲ δυσπόριστα οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα, said Epicurus; "Thanks be to the God of nature that he hath made that which is necessary, to be ready at hand, and easy to be had; and that which cannot easily be obtained, is not necessary it should be at all;" which in effect is to say, It cannot be constantly pleasant: for necessity and want make the appetite, and the appetite makes the pleasure; and men are infinitely mistaken when they despise the poor man's table, and wonder how he can endure that life, that is maintained without the exercise of pleasure, and that he can suffer his day's labor, and recompense it with unsavory herbs, and potent garlic, with water cresses, and bread colored like the ashes that gave it hardness: he hath a hunger that gives it deliciousness; and we may as well wonder that a lion eats raw flesh, or that a wolf feeds on the turf; they have an appetite proportionable to this meat; and their necessity, and their hunger, and their use, and their nature, are the cooks that dress their provisions, and make them delicate: and yet if water and pulse, natural provisions, and the simple diet, were not pleasant, as indeed they are not to them who have been nursed up and accustomed to the more delicious, ἔπειτα πλουτῶν οὐκ ἔθ' ἥδεται φακῶν, yet it is a very great pleasure to reduce our appetites to nature, and to make our reason rule our stomach, and our desires comply with our fortunes, and our fortunes be proportionable to our persons. *Non est voluptas aqua et polenta* (said a philosopher); *sed summa voluptas est, posse*

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ex his capere voluptatem, "It is an excellent pleasure to be able to take pleasure in worts and water," in bread and onions; for then a man can never want pleasure when it is so ready for him, that nature hath spread it over all its provisions. Fortune and art give delicacies; nature gives meat and drink; and what nature gives, fortune cannot take away; but every change can take away what only is given by the bounty of a full fortune; and if in satisfaction and freedom from care, and security and proportions to our own natural appetite, there can be pleasure, then we may know how to value the sober and natural tables of the virtuous and wise, before that state of feastings which a war can lessen, and a tyrant can take away, or the pirates may intercept, or a blast may spoil, and is always contingent, and is so far from satisfying, that either it destroys the appetite, and capacity of pleasure, or increases it beyond all the measures of good things.

He that feasts every day, feasts no day; ἐτρύφησεν, ὥστε μὴ πολὺν τρυφᾷν χρόνον. And however you treat yourselves, sometimes you will need to be refreshed beyond it; but what will you have for a festival, if you wear crowns every day? even a perpetual fulness will make you glad to beg pleasure from emptiness, and variety from poverty or an humble table.

> Plerumque gratæ principibus vices.
> Mundæque parvo sub lare pauperum
> Cœnæ, sine aulæis et ostro,
> Sollicitam explicuere frontem.*

But, however, of all things in the world a man may best and most easily want pleasure, which if you have enjoyed, it passes away at the present, and leaves nothing at all behind it, but sorrow and sour remembrance. No man felt a greater pleasure in a goblet of wine than Lysimachus, when he fought against the Getæ, and himself and his whole army were compelled by thirst to yield themselves to bondage; but when the wine was sunk as far as his navel, the pleasure was gone, and so was his kingdom and his liberty: for though the sorrow dwells with a man pertinaciously, yet the pleasure is swift as

* Hor. Od. iii. 29. 13.

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lightning, and more pernicious; but the pleasures of a sober and a temperate table are pleasures till the next day, καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἡδέως γίνονται, as Timotheus said of Plato's scholars; they converse sweetly, and "are of perfect temper and delicacy f spirit even the next morning;" whereas the intemperate man is forced to lie long in bed, and forget that there is a sun in the sky; he must not be called till he hath concocted, and slept his surfeit into a truce and a quiet respite; but whatsoever this man hath suffered, certain it is that the poor man's head did not ache, neither did he need the juice of poppies, or costly cordials, physicians or nurses, to bring him to his right shape again, like Apuleius's ass, with eating roses: and let him turn his hour-glass, he will find his head aches longer than his throat was pleased; and, which is worst, his glass runs out with joggings and violence, and every such concussion with a surfeit makes his life look nearer its end, and ten to one but it will, before its natural period, be broken in pieces. If these be the pleasures of an epicure's table, I shall pray that my friends may never feel them; but he that sinneth against his Maker, shall fall into the calamities of intemperance.

3. Intemperance is the nurse of vice; Ἀφροδίτης γάλα, "Venus-milk," so Aristophanes calls wine; πάντων δεινῶν μητρόπολις, "the mother of all grievous things;" so Pontianus. For by the experience of all the world, it is the bawd to lust: and no man must ever dare to pray to God for a pure soul in a chaste body, if himself does not live temperately, if himself 'make provisions for the flesh to fulfil the lusts of it;' for in this case he shall find 'that which enters into him shall defile him' more than he can be cleansed by those vain prayers that come from his tongue, and not from his heart. Intemperance makes rage and choler, pride and fantastic principles; it makes the body a sea of humors, and those humors the seat of violence: by faring deliciously every day, men become senseless of the evils of mankind, inapprehensive of the troubles of their brethren, unconcerned in the changes of the world, and the cries of the poor, the hunger of the fatherless, and the thirst of widows: οὐκ ἐκ τῶν μαζοφάγων οἱ τύραννοι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν τρυφωμένων, said Diogenes: "Tyrants never come from the cottages of them that eat pulse and coarse fare, but from the de-

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licious beds and banquets of the effeminate and rich feeders." For to maintain plenty and luxury, sometimes wars are necessary, and oppressions and violence: but no landlord did ever grind the face of his tenants, no prince ever sucked blood from his subjects for the maintenance of a sober and a moderate proportion of good things. And this was intimated by St. James, 'Do not rich men oppress you, and draw you before the judgment-seat?'* For all men are passionate to live according to that state in which they were born, or to which they are devolved, or which they have framed to themselves; those therefore that love to live high and deliciously,

Et quibus in solo vivendi causa palato,†

who live not to God but to their belly, not to sober counsels but to an intemperate table, have framed to themselves a manner of living, which oftentimes cannot be maintained but by injustice and violence, which coming from a man whose passions are made big with sensuality and an habitual folly, by pride and forgetfulness of the condition and miseries of mankind, are always unreasonable, and sometimes intolerable.

——— regustatum digito terebrare salinum
Contentus perages, si vivere cum Jove tendis.‡

Formidable is the state of an intemperate man, whose sin begins with sensuality, and grows up in folly and weak discourses, and is fed by violence, and applauded by fools and parasites, full bellies and empty heads, servants and flatterers, whose hands are full of flesh and blood, and their hearts empty of pity and natural compassion; where religion cannot inhabit, and the love of God must needs be a stranger; whose talk is loud and trifling, injurious and impertinent; and whose employment is the same with the work of the sheep or the calf, always to eat; their loves are the lusts of the lower belly; and their portion is in the lower regions to eternal ages, where their thirst, and their hunger, and their torment, shall be infinite.

4. Intemperance is a perfect destruction of wisdom. Παχεῖα

* Jam. ii. 6. † Juv. xi. 11. ‡ Pers. v. 138.

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γαστὴρ λεπτὸν οὐ τίκτει νόον, "A full-gorged belly never produced a sprightly mind;" and therefore these men are called γαστέρες ἀργαὶ, 'slow-bellies,' so St. Paul concerning the intemperate Cretans out of their own poet: they are like the tigers of Brazil, which, when they are empty, are bold and swift, and full of sagacity: but being full, sneak away from the barking of a village-dog. So are these men, wise in the morning, quick and fit for business; but when the sun gives the sign to spread the table, and intemperance brings in the messes, and drunkenness fills the bowls, then the man falls away, and leaves a beast in his room; nay, worse, νεκύας μεσαύχενας, they are dead all but their throat and belly, so Aristophanes hath fitted them with a character, "Carcasses above half-way." Plotinus descends one step lower yet; affirming such persons, ἀποδενδρωθῆναι, "to be made trees," whose whole employment and life is nothing but to feed and suck juices from the bowels of their nurse and mother; and indeed commonly they talk as trees in a wind and tempest; the noise is great and querulous, but it signifies nothing but trouble and disturbance. A full meal is like Sisera's banquet, at the end of which there is a nail struck into a man's head; ὡς συγκολλῶσα καὶ οἷον καθηλοῦσα τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀπόλαυσιν, so Porphyry; "it knocks a man down, and nails his soul to the sensual mixtures of the body." For what wisdom can be expected from them whose soul dwells in clouds of meat, and floats up and down in wine, like the spilled cups which fell from their hands, when they could lift them to their heads no longer? πολλάκις γὰρ ἐν οἴνου κύμασί τις ναυαγεῖ; it is a perfect shipwreck of a man, the pilot is drunk, and the helm dashed in pieces, and the ship first reels, and by swallowing too much is itself swallowed up at last. And therefore the *Navis Agrigentina*, the madness of the young fellows of Agrigentum, who being drunk, fancied themselves in a storm, and the house the ship, was more than the wild fancy of their cups; it was really so, they were all cast away, they were broken in pieces by the foul disorder of the storm.

Hinc vini atque somni degener socordia,
Libido sordens, inverecundus lepos,

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Variæque pestes languidorum sensuum.
Hinc et frequenti marcida oblectamine
Scintilla mentis intorpescit nobilis,
Animusque pigris stertit in præcordiis.*

"The senses languish, the spark of divinity that dwells within is quenched; and the mind snorts, dead with sleep and fulness in the fouler regions of the belly."

So have I seen the eye of the world looking on a fenny bottom, and drinking up too free draughts of moisture, gathered them into cloud, and that cloud crept about his face, and made him first look red, and then covered him with darkness and an artificial light: so is our reason at a feast,

Putrem resudans crapulam
Obstrangulatæ mentis ingenium premit.

The clouds gather about the head, and according to the method and period of the children, and productions of darkness, it first grows red, and that redness turns into an obscurity and a thick mist, and reason is lost to all use and profitableness of wise and sober discourses; *ἀναθυμίασις θολωδεστέρα οὖσα ἐπισκοτεῖ τῇ ψυχῇ*,† "a cloud of folly and distraction darkens the soul," and makes it crass and material, polluted and heavy, clogged and laden like the body: *ψυχὴ κάθυδρος ταῖς ἐκ τοῦ οἴνου ἀναθυμιάσεσι καὶ νεφέλαις δίκην σώματος ποιουμένη.* "And there cannot be any thing said worse, reason turns into folly, wine and flesh into a knot of clouds, the soul itself into a body," and the spirit into corrupted meat; there is nothing left but the rewards and portions of a fool to be reaped and enjoyed there, where flesh and corruption shall dwell to eternal ages; and therefore in Scripture such men are called *βαρυκάρδιοι*. *Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravant:* their heads are gross, their souls are emerged in matter, and drowned in the moistures of an unwholesome cloud: they are dull of hearing, slow in apprehension, and to action they are as unable as the hands of a child, who too hastily hath broken the inclosures of his first dwelling.

But temperance is reason's girdle and passion's bridle; *σῶα*

* Prudent. hymn. de Jejun. † Clem. Alexand.

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φρόνησις, so Homer in Stobæus; that is σωφροσύνη: "prudence is safe," while the man is temperate; and therefore σώφρον is opposed τῷ χαλίφρονι, "A temperate man is no fool;" for temperance is the σωφρονιστήριον, such as Plato appointed to night-walkers, a prison to restrain their inordinations; it is ῥώμη ψυχῆς, as Pythagoras calls it; κρηπὶς ἀρετῆς, so Socrates; κόσμος ἀγαθῶν πάντων, so Plato; ἀσφάλεια τῶν καλλίστων ἕξεων, so Jamblichus; it is "the strength of the soul, the foundation of virtue, the ornament of all good things, and the corroborative of all excellent habits."

5. After all this, I shall the less need to add that intemperance is a dishonor, and disreputation to the nature, and the person, and the manners of a man. But naturally men are ashamed of it, and the needs of nature shall be the veil for their gluttony, and the night shall cover their drunkenness: τέγγε πνεύμονα οἴνῳ, τὸ γὰρ ἄστρον περιστέλλεται,* which the Apostle rightly renders, 'They that are drunk are drunk in the night;' but the priests of Heliopolis never did sacrifice to the sun with wine; meaning that this is so great a dishonor that the sun ought not to see it; and they that think there is no other eye but the sun that sees them, may cover their shame by choosing their time; just as children do their danger by winking hard, and not looking on. Σκυθίζειν, καὶ ζωρότερον πιεῖν, καὶ δεινῶς φαγεῖν, "To drink sweet drinks and hot, to quaff great draughts, and to eat greedily;" Theophrastus makes them characters of a clown.†

III. And now that I have told you the foulness of the epicure's feasts and principles, it will be fit that I describe the measures of our eating and drinking, that the needs of nature may neither become the cover to an intemperate dish, nor the freer refreshment of our persons be changed into scruples, that neither our virtue nor our conscience fall into an evil snare.

1. The first measure of our eating and drinking is our "natural needs," μήτε ἀλγεῖν κατὰ σῶμα, μήτε ταράττεσθαι κατὰ ψυχήν: these are the measures of nature, "that the body be free from pain, and the soul from violence." Hunger, and

* Alcæus. † Cap. 4.

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thirst, and cold, are the natural diseases of the body; and food and raiment are their remedies, and therefore are the measures.

> In quantum sitis atque fames et frigora poscunt,
> Quantum, Epicure, tibi parvis suffecit in hortis.*

But in this there are two cautions. 1. Hunger and thirst are only to be extinguished while they are violent and troublesome, and are not to be provided for to the utmost extent and possibilities of nature: a man is not hungry so long till he can eat no more, but till its sharpness and trouble is over; and he that does not leave some reserves for temperance, gives all that he can to nature, and nothing at all to grace; for God hath given a latitude in desires and degrees of appetite; and when he hath done, he laid restraint on it in some whole instances, and of some parts in every instance; that man might have something to serve God of his own, and something to distinguish him from a beast in the use of their common faculties. Beasts cannot refrain, but fill all the capacity when they can; and if a man does so, he does what becomes a beast, and not a man. And therefore there are some little symptoms of this inordination, by which a man may perceive himself to have transgressed his measures; "ructation, uneasy loads, singing, looses pratings, importune drowsiness, provocation of others to equal and full chalices;" and though in every accident of this signification it is hard for another to pronounce that the man hath sinned, yet by these he may suspect himself, and learn the next time to hold the bridle harder.

2. "This hunger must be natural," not artificial and provoked; for many men make necessities to themselves, and then think they are bound to provide for them. It is necessary to some men to have garments made of the Calabrian fleece, stained with the blood of the *murex*, and to get money to buy pearls round and orient; *scelerata hoc fecit culpa;* but it is the man's luxury that made it so; and by the same principle it is, that in meats, what is abundant to nature is defective and beggarly to art; and when nature willingly rises from table, when

* Juv. xiv. 319.

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the first course of flesh plain and natural is done, then art, and sophistry, and adulterate dishes, invite him to taste and die, μέχρι τινος ἐσμὲν σάρκες, μέχρι τινος τῆς γῆς κυπτομεν:* well may a sober man wonder that men should be so much in love with earth and corruption, the parent of rottenness and a disease, that even then, when by all laws witches and enchanters, murderers and man-stealers, are chastised and restrained with the iron hands of death; yet that men should at great charges give pensions to an order of men, whose trade it is to rob them of their temperance, and wittily to destroy the health; καταφερεῖς καὶ χαμαιζήλους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς κενολογοῦντας, the Greek fathers call such persons,

——— curvæ in terris animæ et cœlestium inanes;

people bowed down to the earth; 'lovers of pleasures more than lovers of God:' *Aretinas mentes*, so Antidamus calls them, men framed in the furnaces of Etruria, "Aretine spirits,"† beginning and ending in flesh and filthiness; dirt and clay all over. But go to the crib, thou glutton, and there it will be found that when the charger is clean, yet nature's rules were not prevaricated; the beast eats up all his provisions because they are natural and simple; or if he leaves any, it is because he desires no more than till his needs be served; and neither can a man (unless he be diseased in body or in spirit, in affection or in habit) eat more of natural and simple food than to the satisfaction of his natural necessities. He that drinks a draught or two of water and cools his thirst, drinks no more till his thirst returns; but he that drinks wine, drinks again longer than it is needful, even so long as it is pleasant. Nature best provides for herself when she spreads her own table; but when men have gotten superinduced habits, and new necessities, art that brought them in, must maintain them, but "wantonness and folly wait at the table, and sickness and death take away."

2. Reason is the second measure, or rather the rule whereby we judge of intemperance; for whatsoever loads of meat and

* Chrysostom.

† Viz. ab Areto, unde, sicut ex aliis Etruriæ figulinis, testacea vasa Romam deferebant.

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drink make the reason useless or troubled, are effects of this deformity; not that reason is the adequate measure; for a man may be intemperate on other causes, though he do not force his understanding, and trouble his head. Some are strong to drink, and can eat like a wolf, and love to do so, as fire to destroy the stubble; such were those harlots in the comedy, *quæ cum amatore suo cum cœnant, liguriunt.** These persons are to take their accounts from the measures of religion, and the spirit: though they can talk still or transact the affairs of the world, yet if they be not fitted for the things of the spirit, they are too full of flesh or wine, and cannot, or care not to attend to the things of God. But reason is the limit, beyond which temperance never wanders; and in every degree in which our discourse is troubled, and our soul is lifted from its wheels, in the same degree the sin prevails. *Dum sumus in quadam delinquendi libidine, nebulis quibusdam insipientiæ mens obducitur*, saith St. Ambrose; when the flesh-pots reek, and the uncovered dishes send forth a nidor and hungry smells, that cloud hides the face, and puts out the eye of reason; and then tell them, *Mors in olla*, that "Death is in the pot," and folly is in the chalice; that those smells are fumes of brimstone, and vapors of Egypt; that they will make their heart easy, and their head sottish, and their color pale, and their hands trembling, and their feet tormented.

> Mullorum, leporumque, et suminis exitus hic est:
> Sulphureusque color, carnificesque pedes.†

For that is the end of delicacies, δυσωδία, λευκὸς ἰδεῖν, ἐντρυφερὸς, αἰθρίας καὶ πόνων ἄπειρος, as Dio Chrysostom, "paleness, and effeminacy, and laziness, and folly;" yet under the dominion of the pleasures of sensuality, men are so stripped of the use of reason, that they are not only useless in wise counsels and assistances, but they have not reason enough to avoid the evils of their own throat and belly; when once their reason fails, we must know, that their temperance and their religion went before.

3. Though reason be so strictly to be preserved at our tables

* Eunuch. v. 4. 14. † Mart. xii. 48. 9.

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as well as at our prayers, and we can never have leave to do any violence to it; yet the measures of nature may be enlarged beyond the bounds of prime and common necessity. For besides hunger and thirst, there are some labors of the body, and others of the mind, and there are sorrows and loads on the spirit by its communications with the indispositions of the body; and as the laboring man may be supplied with bigger quantities, so the student and contemplative man with more delicious and sprightful nutriment: for as the tender and more delicate easily-digested meats will not help to carry burdens on the neck, and hold the plough in society and yokes of the laborious oxen; so neither will the pulse and the leeks, Lavinian sausages, and the Cisalpine suckets or gobbets of condited bull's-flesh, minister such delicate spirits to the thinking man; but his notion will be flat as the noise of the Arcadian porter, and thick as the first juice of his country lard, unless he makes his body a fit servant to the soul, and both fitted for the employment.

But in these cases necessity, and prudence, and experience, are to make the measures and the rule; and so long as the just end is fairly designed, and aptly ministered to, there ought to be no scruple concerning the quantity or quality of the provision: and he that would stint a swain by the commons of a student, and give Philotas the Candian the leavings of Plato, does but ill serve the ends of temperance, but worse of prudence and necessity.

4. Sorrow and a wounded spirit may as well be provided for in the quantity and quality of meat and drink, as any other disease; and this disease by this remedy as well as by any other. For, great sorrow and importune melancholy may be as great a sin as a great anger; and if it be a sin in its nature, it is more malignant and dangerous in its quality; as naturally tending to murmur and despair, weariness of religion, and hatred of God, timorousness and jealousies, fantastic images of things, and superstition; and therefore, as it is necessary to restrain the fevers of anger, so also to warm the freezings and dulness of melancholy by prudent and temperate, but proper and apportioned diets; and if some meats and drinks make men lustful, or sleepy, or dull, or lazy, or sprightly, or merry; so

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far as meats and drinks can minister to the passion, and the passion minister to virtue, so far by this means they may be provided for. 'Give strong drink to him that is ready to perish, and wine to those that be of heavy hearts: let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more,'* said king Lemuel's mother. But this is not intended to be an habitual cure, but single and occasional; for he that hath a pertinacious sorrow, is beyond the cure of meat and drink; and if this becomes every day's physic, it will quickly become every day's sin. Then, it must always keep within the bounds of reason, and never seize on any portions of affection: the Germans used to mingle music with their bowls, and drink by the measures of the six notes of music;

Ut *relevet* mi*serum* fa*tum*, sol*itosque* la*bores*:

But they sing so long, that they forget not their sorrow only, but their virtue also, and their religion: and there are some men that fall into drunkenness, because they would forget a lighter calamity, running into the fire to cure a calenture, and beating their brains out to be quit of the aching of their heads. A man's heaviness is refreshed long before he comes to drunkenness; for when he arrives thither, he hath but changed his heaviness, and taken a crime to boot.

5. Even when a man hath no necessity on him, no pungent sorrow, or natural or artificial necessity, it is lawful in some cases of eating and drinking to receive pleasure and intend it. For whatsoever is natural and necessary, is therefore not criminal, because it is of God's procuring; and since we eat for need, and the satisfaction of our need is a removing of a pain, and that in nature is the greatest pleasure, it is impossible that in its own nature it should be a sin. But in this case of conscience, these cautions are to be observed:

1. So long as nature ministers the pleasure and not art, it is materially innocent. *Si tuo veniat jure, luxuria est*:† but it is safe while it enters on nature's stock; for it is impossible that the proper effect of health, and temperance, and prudent abstinence, should be vicious: and yet these are the parents of the

* Prov. xxxi. 6. † Seneca.

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greatest pleasure, in eating and drinking. *Malum panem expecta, bonus fiet; etiam illum tenerum tibi et siligineum fames reddet:* "If you abstain and be hungry, you shall turn the meanest provision into delicate and desirable."

2. Let all the pleasure of meat and drink be such as can minister to health, and be within the former bounds. For since pleasure in eating and drinking is its natural appendage, and like a shadow follows the substance, as the meat is to be accounted, so is the pleasure: and if these be observed, there is no difference whether nature or art be the cook. For some constitutions, and some men's customs, and some men's educations, and necessities, and weaknesses, are such, that their appetite is to be invited, and their digestion helped, but all this while we are within the bounds of nature and need.

3. It is lawful when a man needs meat to choose the pleasanter, even merely for their pleasures; that is, because they are pleasant, besides that they are useful; this is as lawful as to smell of a rose, or to lie in feathers, or change the posture of our body in bed for ease, or to hear music, or to walk in gardens rather than the highways; and God hath given us leave to be delighted in those things, which he made to that purpose, that we may also be delighted in him that gives them. For so as the more pleasant may better serve for health, and directly to refreshment, so collaterally to religion: always provided, that it be in its degree moderate, and we temperate in our desires, without transportation and violence, without unhandsome usages of ourselves, or taking from God and from religion any minutes and portions of our affections. When Eicadastes, the epicure, saw a goodly dish of hot meat served up, he sang the verse of Homer,

Τοῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἄντιος εἶμι, καὶ ἐν πυρὶ χεῖρας ἔοικε,

and swallowed some of it greedily, till by its hands of fire it curled his stomach, like parchment in the flame, and he was carried from his banquet to the grave.

Non potuit fato nobiliore mori;*

* Mart. xi. 70.

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It was fit he should die such a death, but that death bids us beware of that folly.

4. Let the pleasure, as it came with meat, so also pass away with it. Philoxenus was a beast; ηὔξατό ποτε τὴν γεράνου αὐχένα ἔχειν, "he wished his throat as long as a crane's," that he might be long in swallowing his pleasant morsels; *Mœret quod magna pars felicitatis exclusa esset corporis angustiis;* "he mourned because the pleasure of eating was not spread over all his body," that he might have been an epicure in his hands: and indeed, if we consider it rightly, great eating and drinking is not the greatest pleasure of the taste, but of the touch; and Philoxenus might feel the unctuous juice slide softly down his throat, but he could not taste it in the middle of the long neck; and we see that they who mean to feast exactly or delight the palate, do *libare*, or *pitissare*, take up little proportions and spread them on the tongue or palate; but full morsels and great draughts are easy and soft to the touch; but so is the feeling of silk, or handling of a melon, or a mole's skin, and as delicious too as eating when it goes beyond the appetites of nature, and the proper pleasures of taste, which cannot be perceived but by a temperate man. And therefore let not the pleasure be intended beyond the taste; that is, beyond those little natural measures in which God intended that pleasure should accompany your tables. Do not run to it beforehand, nor chew the cud when the meal is done; delight not in fancies, and expectations, and remembrances of a pleasant meal; but let it descend *in latrinam*, together with the meals whose attendant pleasure is.

5. Let pleasure be the less principal, and used as a servant: it may be modest and prudent to strew the dish with sugar, or to dip thy bread in vinegar; but to make thy meal of sauces, and to make the accessory become the principal, and pleasure to rule the table, and all the regions of thy soul, is to make a man less and lower than an olio, of a cheaper value than a turbot; a servant and a worshipper of sauces, and cooks, and pleasure, and folly.

6. Let pleasure, as it is used in the regions and limits of nature and prudence, so also be changed into religion and thankfulness. *Turtures cum bibunt, non resupinant colla*, say

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naturalists; "Turtles when they drink, lift not up their bills;" and if we swallow our pleasures without returning the honor and the acknowlegment to God that gave them, we may *large bibere, jumentorum modo,* "drink draughts as large as an ox," but we shall die like an ox, and change our meats and drinks into eternal rottenness. In all religions it hath been permitted to enlarge our tables in the days of sacrifices and religious festivity.

> Qui Veientanum festis potare diebus
> Campana solitus trulla, vappamque profestis.*

For then the body may rejoice in fellowship with the soul, and then a pleasant meal is religious, if it be not inordinate. But if our festival-days, like the Gentile sacrifices, end in drunkenness,† and our joys in religion pass into sensuality and beastly crimes, we change the holyday into a day of death, and ourselves become a sacrifice as in the day of slaughter.

To sum up this particular; there are, as you perceive, many cautions to make our pleasure safe, but any thing can make it inordinate, and then scarce any thing can keep it from becoming dangerous.

> Habet omnis hoc voluptas:
> Stimulis agit furentes;
> Apiumque par volantum,
> Ubi grata mella fudit,
> Fugit, et nimis tenaci
> Ferit icta corda morsu.‡

And the pleasure of the honey will not pay for the smart of the sting. *Amores enim et deliciæ mature et celeriter deflorescunt, et in omnibus rebus voluptatibus maximis fastidium finitimum est:* "Nothing is so soon ripe and rotten as pleasure: and on all possessions and states of things, loathing looks as being not far off; but it sits on the skirts of pleasure."

> Ὅς δὲ τραπέζας
> Ἐπορεξάμενος μελιχρῶν ἔθιγεν,
> Ἢ μέγα κλαύσει πικρὰν μερίδα,
> Τῶν ἀντίξων συνεφελκομένων.

* Hor. Serm. ii. 3. 143.

† Μεθύειν, μετὰ τὸ θύειν.

‡ Boetius, l. iii. metr. 7.

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"He that greedily puts his hand to a delicious table, shall weep bitterly when he suffers the convulsions and violence by the divided interests of such contrary juices:"

Ὅδε γὰρ χθονίας θέσμος ἀνάγκας
Διχόθεν θνατοῖς βίον οἰνοχοεῖ.

"For this is the law of our nature and fatal necessity; life is always poured forth from two goblets."

And now, after all this, I pray consider, what a strange madness and prodigious folly possess many men, that they love to swallow death and diseases and dishonor, with an appetite which no reason can restrain. We expect our servants should not dare to touch what we have forbidden to them; we are watchful that our children should not swallow poisons, and filthiness, and unwholesome nourishment; we take care that they should be well-mannered and civil, and of fair demeanor; and we ourselves desire to be, or at least to be accounted, wise, and would infinitely scorn to be called fools; and we are so great lovers of health, that we will buy it at any rate of money or observance; and then for honor, it is that which the children of men pursue with passion, it is one of the noblest rewards of virtue, and the proper ornament of the wise and valiant; and yet all these things are not valued or considered, when a merry meeting, or a looser feast, calls on the man to act a scene of folly and madness, and healthlessness and dishonor. We do to God what we severely punish in our servants; we correct our children for their meddling with dangers, which themselves prefer before immortality; and though no man think himself fit to be despised, yet he is willing to make himself a beast, a sot, and a ridiculous monkey, with the follies and vapors of wine; and when he is high in drink or fancy, proud as a Grecian orator in the midst of his popular noises, at the same time he shall talk such dirty language, such mean low things, as may well become a changeling and a fool, for whom the stocks are prepared by the laws, and the just scorn of men. Every drunkard clothes his head with a mighty scorn; and makes himself lower at that time than the meanest of his servants; the boys can laugh at him when he is led like a cripple, directed like a blind man, and speaks like an infant imperfect noises,

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lisping with a full and spongy tongue, and an empty head, and a vain and foolish heart: so cheaply does he part with his honor for drink or loads of meat; for which honor he is ready to die, rather than hear it to be disparaged by another; when himself destroys it, as bubbles perish with the breath of children. Do not the laws of all wise nations mark the drunkard for a fool, with the meanest and most scornful punishment? and is there any thing in the world so foolish as a man that is drunk? But, good God! what an intolerable sorrow hath seized on great portions of mankind, that this folly and madness should possess the greatest spirits, and the wittiest men, the best company, the most sensible of the word honor, and the most jealous of losing the shadow, and the most careless of the thing? Is it not a horrid thing, that a wise or a crafty, a learned or a noble person, should dishonor himself as a fool, destroy his body as a murderer, lessen his estate as a prodigal, disgrace every good cause that he can pretend to by his relation, and become an appellative of scorn, a scene of laughter or derision, and all for the reward of forgetfulness and madness? for there are in immoderate drinking no other pleasures.

Why do valiant men and brave personages fight and die rather than break the laws of men, or start from their duty to their prince, and will suffer themselves to be cut in pieces rather than deserve the name of a traitor, or perjured? and yet these very men, to avoid the hated name of glutton or drunkard, and to preserve their temperance, shall not deny themselves one luscious morsel, or pour a cup of wine on the ground, when they are invited to drink by the laws of the circle or wilder company.

Methinks it were but reason, that if to give life to uphold a cause be not too much, they should not think it too much to be hungry and suffer thirst for the reputation of that cause; and therefore much rather that they would think it but duty to be temperate for its honor, and eat and drink in civil and fair measures, that themselves might not lose the reward of so much suffering, and of so good a relation, nor that which they value most be destroyed by drink.

There are in the world a generation of men that are engaged

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in a cause which they glory in, and pride themselves in its relation and appellative: but yet for that cause they will do nothing but talk and drink; they are valiant in wine, and witty in healths, and full of stratagem to promote debauchery; but such persons are not considerable in wise accounts; that which I deplore is, that some men prefer a cause before their life, and yet prefer wine before that cause, and by one drunken meeting set it more backward in its hopes and blessings, than it can be set forward by the counsels and arms of a whole year. God hath ways enough to reward a truth without crowning it with success in the hands of such men. In the mean time they dishonor religion, and make truth be evil spoken of, and innocent persons to suffer by their very relation, and the cause of God to be reproached in the sentences of erring and abusing people; and themselves lose their health and their reason, their honor and their peace, the rewards of sober counsels, and the wholesome effects of wisdom.

> Arcanum neque tu scrutaberis illius unquam;
> Commissumque teges, et vino tortus et ira.*

Wine discovers more than the rack, and he that will be drunk is not a person fit to be trusted: and though it cannot be expected men should be kinder to their friend, or their prince, or their honor, than to God, and to their own souls, and to their own bodies; yet when men are not moved by what is sensible and material, by that which smarts and shames presently, they are beyond the cure of religion, and the hopes of reason; and therefore they must "lie in hell like sheep, death gnawing on them, and the righteous shall have dominion over them in the morning" of the resurrection.

> Seras tutior ibis ad lucernas:
> Hæc hora est tua, cum furit Lyæus,
> Cum regnat rosa, cum madent capilli.†

Much safer it is to go to the severities of a watchful and a sober life; for all that time of life is lost, when wine, and rage,

* Hor. Ep. i. 18. 37. † Mart. x. 19. 18.

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and pleasure, and folly, steal away the heart of a man, and make him go singing to his grave.

I end with the saying of a wise man: He is fit to sit at the table of the Lord, and to feast with saints, who moderately uses the creatures which God hath given him: but he that despises even lawful pleasures, *οὐ μόνον συμπότης τῶν Θεῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνάρχων*, "shall not only sit and feast with God, but reign together with him," and partake of his glorious kingdom.

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SUMMARY OF SERMON VII.

EPHESIANS, CHAP. V.—VERSE 32-33.

PART I.

THE first blessing which God gave to man, was society: and that society was a marriage; and that marriage was joined by God himself, and hallowed with a blessing. In the beginning, the world, being rich and empty, was naturally desirous of children; a single life was reckoned a curse, and a childless person one hated by God: men were desirous of great families, to build them cities, and to become fountains of great nations: this was consequent on the first blessing, *increase and multiply*. The next blessing was, *the promise of the Messias;* and that also increased to a wonderful degree the desire of marriage: to be childless in Israel was the greatest of sorrows to the Hebrew women.

But when the Messias was come; when his doctrine was published; when his ministers were few, and his disciples were to suffer persecution, &c. in which case the state of marriage produced many inconveniences; it pleased God to inspire into the hearts of his servants a disposition and desires towards a single life; and on this necessity the Apostles and apostolical men published doctrines, declaring the advantages of it; not by the command of God, but by the spirit of prudence, for present and then incumbent necessities: this topic enlarged on and illustrated.

But in this first interval, public necessity and private zeal, mingling together, did sometimes overact their love of a single

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life, even to the disparagement of marriage, and the scandal of religion: and this was increased by the occasion of many pious or converted persons renouncing their contract of marriage with unbelievers. Instances quoted: insomuch that it was reported among the Gentiles, that the Christians did not only hate all that were not of their own persuasion, but were enemies of the chaste laws of marriage. Hence it grew necessary for St. Paul to state the question right, to do honor to the holy rite, and to snatch the mystery out of the hands of zealous folly. The Apostle therefore so explains it, &c. that, as it begins with honor, so it may proceed with piety, and end with glory.

For although a single life hath in it such privacy and simplicity of affairs, such leisure for religious duties, and shows such a perfect mortification of our strongest appetites, that it is a state of great excellency; yet concerning the state of marriage we are taught by Scripture, and by wise men, that *marriage is honorable in all men:* so is not single life; for in some it is a snare, and a trouble, &c.: it is never commanded, but in some cases marriage is; and he that burns, sins often if he marries not. Marriage was ordained by God, was instituted in paradise, and had the first blessing. The mother of our blessed Lord was betrothed in marriage. The first miracle which Jesus did, was in honor of it: various excellences and honors of this state farther dilated on.

Single life makes men in one instance to be like angels; but marriage in very many things makes the chaste pair to be like to Christ. *This is a great mystery;* but it is the symbolical and sacramental representation of the greatest mysteries of our religion: this topic enlarged on. Hence it behoves all who enter into its golden fetters, to see that Christ and his church be in at all its periods, and that it be intirely conducted and overruled by religion; for so the Apostle passes from the sacramental rite to the real duty; *that the man love his wife, and*

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the wife reverence her husband: this part of the precept now proposed for discussion. Subject divided as follows:

1. The duty is propounded as it generally relates to man and wife in conjunction. 2. The duty and power of the man. 3. The rights, privileges, and duty of the wife.

1. *In Christo et ecclesia:* that begins all; and there is great need it should be so: for they that enter into a state of marriage, cast a die of the greatest contingency, and yet of the greatest interest in the world, next to the last throw for eternity. Life or death, felicity or a lasting sorrow, are in the power of marriage. A woman indeed ventures most, for she hath no sanctuary to retire to from a bad husband: this point enlarged on. And though the man can run from many hours of his sadness, yet he must return to it again: this point also enlarged on. The worst of the evil is, that both fell into the snare by an improper way; Christ and his church were no ingredients of their choice. The folly of entering into marriage from worldly or improper motives fully dilated on.

2. Man and wife are equally concerned to avoid all offences of each other in the beginning of their conversation. Every little thing can blast an infant blossom: this topic enlarged on. After the hearts of man and wife are endeared and hardened by mutual confidence and experience, there are many remembrances, and some things present, that dash all little unkindnesses in pieces.

3. Let man and wife be careful to stifle little things, that, as fast as they spring up they may be cut down and trod on; for if they be suffered to grow in numbers, they make the spirit peevish, the society troublesome, and the affections loose by an habitual aversion.

4. Let them be sure to abstain from all those things, which by experience and observation they find to be contrary to each other: this enlarged on.

5. Let them carefully avoid a curious distinction of *mine*

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and *thine:* for this hath caused all the laws, and all the suits, and all the wars in the world: let them have but one person and one interest: this enlarged on.

These are the duties of them both, which have common regards and equal necessities and obligations; indeed there is scarcely any matter of duty, but it concerns them both alike; and what in one is called *love* is in the other called reverence; and what in the wife is *obedience*, is in the husband *duty:* this topic carried on to the end.

PART II.

The next inquiry is more particular, and considers the power and duty of the man: *let every one of you so love his wife, even as himself.* She is as himself, the man hath power over her as over himself, and must love her equally.

A husband's power over his wife is paternal and friendly, not magisterial and despotic. The wife is under conduct and counsel; for the man's power is founded in the understanding, not in the will or force: this topic enlarged on, and illustrated by quotations, &c. And therefore, although there is just measure of subjection and obedience due from the wife to the husband, yet nothing of this is expressed in the man's character, or in his duty: this enlarged on. So that we cannot discourse of the man's right without describing the measures of his duty: that therefore follows next.

2. *Let him love his wife, even as himself:* that is his duty and the measure of it too. *Be not bitter against her.* And this is the least index and signification of love: a civil man is never bitter against a friend or a stranger, much less to him who enters under his roof and is secured by the laws of hospitality. But a wife does all that and more; she quits all her interests for his love; she gives him all she can give, and is as much identified with him as another person can possibly be:

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this state dilated on. Now he is worse than a viper, who for reverence of this sacred union will not abstain from bitterness: the injustice and impropriety of brutal conduct in a husband towards his wife forcibly described.

The marital love is infinitely removed from all possibility of such rudeness: it is a thing pure as light, sacred as a temple, lasting as the world. That love which can cease was never true. The happiness of a man who is blessed by conjugal love beautifully described. Instances given of persons who have made the greatest of sacrifices for their wives.

But the cases in which this can be required are so rare and contingent, that holy Scripture does not instance the duty in this particular: but it contains in it, that the husband should nourish and cherish her, making all the cares and evils of life as light and easy to her as possible by his love, &c.

3. Hither also is to be referred that he secure the interest of her virtue and felicity by a fair example: proneness of the woman to imitate her husband's ideas described and illustrated.

4. Above all other instances of love, let him preserve towards her an inviolable faith, and unspotted chastity; for this is the marriage ring, which ties two hearts by an eternal band, &c. This is a grace that is secured by all acts of heaven, by the defence of the laws, the locks and bars of modesty, honor and reputation, fear and shame, interest and high regards: this topic enlarged on.

These are the lines of a man's duty: the duties of the woman next described.

1. The first is obedience; which, because it is no where enjoined that the man should exact it, but is often commanded her to pay, gives demonstration that it is a voluntary cession which is required; such a cession as must be without coercion and violence on his part, but on fair inducements, and out of love and honor on hers: this state of obedience, and the usefulness of it, &c. described. Concerning its measures and limits we can

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best take accounts from Scripture. The Apostle says, *in all things as to the Lord.* St. Jerome mistook this, when he translated it, *ut ancilla domino:* real meaning of it, "that religion must be the measure of a wife's obedience and subjection."

But in this also there is some peculiar caution. For although, in things necessary to faith and holiness, the woman is subject to Christ alone, who only is the Lord of conscience; yet as it is part of the man's office to be a teacher, guide, and master, it will relate much to the demonstration of affection, if she obey his counsels, imitate his virtues, is directed by his wisdom, &c. this topic enlarged on and illustrated.

2. The next line of the woman's duty is compliance, which St. Peter calls *the hidden man of the heart; the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit;* and to it he opposes *the outward and pompous ornament of the body;* this is to be limited by Christian modesty, and the usages of the more excellent and severe matrons: folly of this extravagance dilated on: the brightest ornaments of a wife described; and the folly of those husbands, who are pleased with the indecent gaieties of their wives, illustrated.

3. *Remember the days of darkness, for they are many:* the joys of the bridal chamber are quickly past, and the remaining portion of the state is a dull progress, without variety of joys, yet not without the change of sorrows: but that portion, which shall enter into the grave, must be eternal. Conclusion.

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SERMON VII.

THE MARRIAGE RING; OR, THE MYSTERIOUSNESS AND DUTIES OF MARRIAGE.

EPHESIANS, CHAP. V.—VERSE 32-33.

This is a great mystery, but I speak concerning Christ and the church. Nevertheless, let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself, and the wife see that she reverence her husband.

PART I.

THE first blessing God gave to man, was society: and that society was a marriage, and that marriage was confederate by God himself, and hallowed by a blessing: and at the same time, and for very many descending ages, not only by the instinct of nature, but by a superadded forwardness (God himself inspiring the desire), the world was most desirous of children, impatient of barrenness, accounting single life a curse, and a childless person hated by God.* The world was rich and empty, and able to provide for a more numerous posterity than it had.

———"Εξεις, Νουμήνιε, τέκνα,
Χάλκον ἔχων· πτωχὸς δ' οὐδὲ τὰ τέκνα φιλεῖ.†

* Quemlibet hominem cui non est uxor, minime esse hominem; cum etiam in Scriptura dicatur, "Masculum et fœminam creavit eos, et vocavit nomen eorum Adam seu hominem." R. Eliezer dixit in Gen. Bab. Quicunque negligit præceptum de multiplicatione humani generis, habendum esse veluti homicidam.

† Brunck. Anal. ii. 342.

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You that are rich, Numenius, you may multiply your family; poor men are not so fond of children: but when a family could drive their herds, and set their children on camels, and lead them till they saw a fat soil watered with rivers, and there sit down without paying rent, they thought of nothing but to have great families, that their own relations might swell up to a patriarchate, and their children be enough to possess all the regions that they saw, and their grandchildren become princes, and themselves build cities and call them by the name of a child, and become the fountain of a nation. This was the consequent of the first blessing, 'increase and multiply.' The next blessing was, the promise of the Messias, and that also increased in men and women a wonderful desire of marriage: for as soon as God had chosen the family of Abraham to be the blessed line, from whence the world's Redeemer should descend according to the flesh, every of his daughters hoped to have the honor to be his mother, or his grandmother, or something of his kindred: and to be childless in Israel was a sorrow to the Hebrew women great as the slavery of Egypt, or their dishonors in the land of their captivity.*

But when the Messias was come, and the doctrine was published, and his ministers but few, and his disciples were to suffer persecution, and to be of an unsettled dwelling; and the nation of the Jews, in the bosom and society of which the church especially did dwell, were to be scattered and broken all in pieces with fierce calamities, and the world was apt to calumniate and to suspect and dishonor Christians on pretences and unreasonable jealousies, and that to all these purposes the state of marriage brought many inconveniences; it pleased God in this new creation to inspire into the hearts of his servants a disposition and strong desires to live a single life, lest the state of marriage should in that conjunction of things become an accidental impediment to the dissemination of the Gospel, which called men from a confinement in their domestic charges to travel, and flight, and poverty, and difficulty, and martyrdom:

* Apud Athenas, τὰς τοῦ ἀγαμίου καὶ ἀψιγαμίου δίκας refert Julius Pollux l. 3. περὶ ἀγάμων. Idem etiam Lacedæmone et Romæ; vide Festum, verb. Uxorium, atque ibi Jos. Scal.

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on this necessity the Apostles and apostolical men published doctrines, declaring the advantages of single life, not by any commandment of the Lord, but by the spirit of prudence, διὰ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἀνάγκην, 'for the present and then incumbent necessities,' and in order to the advantages which did accrue to the public ministries and private piety.* 'There are some (said our blessed Lord) who make themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven,' that is, for the advantages and the ministry of the Gospel, *non ad vitæ bonæ meritum* (as St. Austin in the like case); not that it is a better service of God in itself,† but that it is useful to the first circumstances of the Gospel and the infancy of the kingdom, because the unmarried person does μεριμνᾷν τὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, "is apt to spiritual and ecclesiastical employments:" first ἅγιος, and then ἁγιαζόμενος, "holy in his own person, and then sanctified to public ministries;" and it was also of ease to the Christians themselves, because, as then it was, when they were to flee, and to flee for aught they knew in winter, and they were persecuted to the four winds of heaven; and the nurses and the women with child were to suffer a heavier load of sorrow because of the imminent persecutions; and above all, because of the great fatality of ruin on the whole nation of the Jews, well it might be said by St. Paul, θλίψιν τῇ σαρκὶ ἕξουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι, 'Such shall have trouble in the flesh,' that is, they that are married shall, and so at that time they had: and therefore it was an act of charity to the Christians to give that counsel, ἐγὼ δὲ ὑμῖν φείδομαι, 'I do this to spare you,' and θέλω ὑμᾶς ἀμερίμνους εἶναι: for when the case was altered, and that storm was over, and the first necessities of the Gospel served, and 'the sound was gone out into all nations;' in very many persons it was wholly changed, and

* Etiam Judæi, qui præceptum esse viris παιδοποιεῖν aiunt, uno ore concedunt, tamen dispensatum esse cum iis qui assiduo legis studio vacare volunt, alias etiam immunibus ab acriori carnis stimulo. Maimon. 15. Halach. Isboth.

† Οὐ ψέγω δὲ τοὺς λοιποὺς μακαρίους, ὅτι γάμοις προσωμίλησαν ὧν ἐμνήσθην ἄρτι· εὔχομαι γὰρ ἄξιος Θεοῦ εὑρεθεὶς πρὸς τοῖς ἴχνεσιν αὐτῶν εὑρεθῆναι ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὡς Ἀβραὰμ, καὶ Ἰσαὰκ, καὶ Ἰακὼβ, ὡς Ἰώσηφ, καὶ Ἰεσαΐου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων προφητῶν, ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπωστόλων, &c. Epist. ad Philadelph.

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not the married but the unmarried had θλίψιν ἐν σαρκὶ, 'trouble in the flesh;' and the state of marriage returned to its first blessing, *et non erat bonum homini esse solitarium*, 'and it was not good for man to be alone.'

But in this first interval, the public necessity and the private zeal mingling together did sometimes overact their love of single life, even to the disparagement of marriage, and to the scandal of religion; which was increased by the occasion of some pious persons renouncing their contract of marriage, not consummate, with believers. For when Flavia Domitilla, being converted by Nereus and Achilleus the eunuchs, refused to marry Aurelianus, to whom she was contracted; if there were not some little envy and too sharp hostility in the eunuchs to a married state, yet Aurelianus thought himself an injured person, and caused St. Clemens, who veiled her, and his spouse both, to die in the quarrel. St. Thecla being converted by St. Paul, grew so in love with virginity, that she leaped back from the marriage of Tamyris, where she was lately engaged. St. Iphigenia denied to marry king Hyrtacus, and it is said to be done by the advice of St. Matthew. And Susanna, the niece of Dioclesian, refused the love of Maximianus the emperor; and these all had been betrothed; and so did St. Agnes, and St. Felicula, and divers others then and afterward: insomuch, that it was reported among the Gentiles, that the Christians did not only hate all that were not of their persuasion, but were enemies of the chaste laws of marriage; and indeed some that were called Christians were so; 'forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats.' On this occasion it grew necessary for the Apostle to state the question right, and to do honor to the holy rite of marriage, and to snatch the mystery from the hands of zeal and folly, and to place it in Christ's right hand, that all its beauties might appear, and a present convenience might not bring in a false doctrine, and a perpetual sin, and an intolerable mischief. The Apostle, therefore, who himself* had been a married man, but was now a widower,

* Ὡς Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων τῶν γάμοις προσομιλησάντων οὐχ ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ πράγμα, ἀλλ' ὑπ' εὐνοίας ἑαυτῶν τοῦ γένους ἔσχαν ἐκείνους. Ignatius Epist. ad Philadelph. Et Clemens idem ait apud Eusebium Hist. Eccles. lib. 3. sed tamen eam non circumduxit sicut Petrus: probat autem ex Philip. 4.

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does explicate the mysteriousness of it, and describes its honors, and adorns it with rules and provisions of religion, that, as it begins with honor, so it may proceed with piety, and end with glory.

For although single life hath in it privacy and simplicity of affairs, such solitariness and sorrow, such leisure and inactive circumstances of living, that there are more spaces for religion if men would use them to these purposes; and because it may have in it much religion and prayers, and must have in it a perfect mortification of our strongest appetites, it is therefore a state of great excellency; yet concerning the state of marriage, we are taught from Scripture and the sayings of wise men, great things are honorable. 'Marriage is honorable in all men;' so is not single life; for in some it is a snare and a πύρωσις, 'a trouble in the flesh,' a prison of unruly desires, which is attempted daily to be broken. Celibate or single life is never commanded; but in some cases marriage is; and he that burns, sins often if he marries not: he that cannot contain must marry; and he that can contain is not tied to a single life, but may marry and not sin. Marriage was ordained by God, instituted in Paradise, was the relief of a natural necessity, and the first blessing from the Lord; he gave to man not a friend, but a wife, that is, a friend and a wife too (for a good woman is in her soul the same that a man is, and she is a woman only in her body; that she may have the excellency of the one, and the usefulness of the other, and become amiable in both): it is the seminary of the church, and daily brings forth sons and daughters unto God; it was ministered to by angels, and Raphael waited on a young man that he might have a blessed marriage, and that that marriage might repair two sad families, and bless all their relatives. Our blessed Lord, though he was born of a maiden, yet she was veiled under the cover of marriage, and she was married to a widower; for Joseph, the supposed father of our Lord, had children by a former wife. The first miracle that ever Jesus did, was to do honor to a wedding; marriage was in the world before sin, and is in all ages of the world the greatest and most effective antidote against sin, in which all the world had perished, if God had not made a remedy: and although sin hath soured marriage, and struck the man's head with cares, and the woman's bed with sorrows in

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the production of children; yet these are but throes of life and glory, and 'she shall be saved in child-bearing, if she be found in faith and righteousness.' Marriage is a school and exercise of virtue; and though marriage hath cares, yet the single life hath desires, which are more troublesome and more dangerous, and often end in sin, while the cares are but instances of duty and exercises of piety: and therefore, if single life hath more privacy of devotion, yet marriage hath more necessities and more variety of it, and is an exercise of more graces. In two virtues, celibate or single life may have the advantage of degrees ordinarily and commonly,—that is, in chastity and devotion: but as in some persons this may fail, and it does in very many, and a married man may spend as much time in devotion as any virgins or widows do; yet as in marriage even those virtues of chastity and devotion are exercised; so in other instances, this state hath proper exercises and trials for those graces, for which single life can never be crowned; here is the proper scene of piety and patience, of the duty of parents and the charity of relatives;* here kindness is spread abroad, and love is united and made firm as a centre: marriage is the nursery of heaven; the virgin sends prayers to God, but she carries but one soul to him; but the state of marriage fills up the numbers of the elect, and hath in it the labor of love, and the delicacies of friendship, the blessing of society, and the union of hands and hearts; it hath in it less of beauty, but more of safety, than the single life; it hath more care, but less danger; it is more merry, and more sad; is fuller of sorrows, and fuller of joys; it lies under more burdens, but is supported by all the strengths of love and charity, and those burdens are delightful. Marriage is the mother of the world,'† and preserves kingdoms, and fills cities, and churches,

* Χρῆ τῆς ἀειγένεως φύσεως ἀντέχεσθαι τῷ παῖδας παίδων καταλείποντι ἀεὶ τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρέτας ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ παραδιδόναι. Plato.

Adde, quod eunuchus nulla pietate movetur,
Nec generi natisve cavet: clementia cunctis
In similes, animosque ligant consortia damni.
Claudian. In Eutrop. i. 187.

† Καλὰ τὰ παρθενίης κειμήλια· παρθενίη δὲ
Τὸν βίον ὤλεσεν ἐν πᾶσι φυλαττομένη. Brunck. An. iii. 93.

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and heaven itself. Celibate, like the fly in the heart of an apple, dwells in a perpetual sweetness, but sits alone, and is confined and dies in singularity; but marriage, like the useful bee, builds a house and gathers sweetness from every flower, and labors and unites into societies and republics, and sends out colonies, and feeds the world with delicacies, and obeys its king, and keeps order, and exercises many virtues, and promotes the interest of mankind, and is that state of good things to which God hath designed the present constitution of the world.

Τοῦνεκεν ἐνθέσμου ἔλεχον λάβε, καί τινα κόσμῳ
Δῶν βροτὸν ἀντὶ σέθεν φεῦγε δὲ μαχλοσύνην.

Brunck. An. iii. 93.

Single life makes men in one instance to be like angels, but marriage in very many things makes the chaste pair to be like to Christ. 'This is a great mystery,' but it is the symbolical and sacramental representation of the greatest mysteries of our religion. Christ descended from his Father's bosom, and contracted his divinity with flesh and blood, and married our nature, and we became a church, the spouse of the Bridegroom, which he cleansed with his blood, and gave her his Holy Spirit for a dowry, and heaven for a jointure; begetting children unto God by the Gospel. This spouse he hath joined to himself by an excellent charity, he feeds her at his own table, and lodges her nigh his own heart, provides for all her necessities, relieves her sorrows, determines her doubts, guides her wanderings, he is become her head, and she as a signet on his right hand; he first indeed was betrothed to the synagogue, and had many children by her, but she forsook her love, and then he married the church of the Gentiles, and by her, as by a second venter, had a more numerous issue, *atque una domus est omnium filiorum ejus*, 'all the children dwell in the same house,' and are heirs of the same promises, intitled to the same inheritance. Here is the eternal conjunction, the indissoluble knot, the exceeding love of Christ, the obedience of the spouse,

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Siquis patriam majorem parentem extinguit, in eo culpa est, quod facit pro sua parte qui se eunuchat, aut aliqua liberos producit, i. e. differt eorum procreationem. Varro in 'lege Mænia.'

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the communicating of goods, the uniting of interests, the fruit of marriage, a celestial generation, a new creature: *sacramentum hoc magnum est;* "This is the sacramental mystery, represented by the holy rite of marriage; so that marriage is divine in its institution, sacred in its union, holy in the mystery, sacramental in its signification, honorable in its appellative, religious in its employments: it is advantage to the societies of men, and it is 'holiness to the Lord.' *Dico autem in Christo et ecclesia,* "It must be in Christ and the church."

If this be not observed, marriage loses its mysteriousness: but because it is to effect much of that which it signifies, it concerns all that enter into those golden fetters to see that Christ and his church be in at every of its periods, and that it be intirely conducted and overruled by religion; for so the Apostle passes from the sacramental rite to the real duty; 'Nevertheless,' that is, although the former discourse were wholly to explicate the conjunction of Christ and his church by this similitude, yet it hath in it this real duty, 'that the man love his wife, and the wife reverence her husband:' and this is the use we shall now make of it, the particulars of which precept I shall thus dispose:

1. I shall propound the duty as it generally relates to man and wife in conjunction. 2. The duty and power of the man. 3. The rights and privileges and the duty of the wife.

1. *In Christo et ecclesia;* that begins all, and there is great need it should be so; for they that enter into a state of marriage, cast a die of the greatest contingency, and yet of the greatest interest in the world, next to the last throw for eternity.

> Νῦν γὰρ δὴ πάντεσσιν ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς,
> Ἢ μάλα λυγρὸς ὄλεθρος Ἀχαιοῖς, ἠὲ βιῶναι.*

Life or death, felicity or a lasting sorrow, are in the power of marriage. A woman indeed ventures most, for she hath no sanctuary to retire from an evil husband; she must dwell on her sorrow, and hatch the eggs which her own folly or infelicity hath produced; and she is more under it, because her tormentor hath a warrant of prerogative, and the woman may

* Il. κ. 173.

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complain to God as subjects do of tyrant princes, but otherwise she hath no appeal in the causes of unkindness. And though the man can run from many hours of his sadness, yet he must return to it again; and when he sits among his neighbors, he remembers the objection that lies in his bosom, and he sighs deeply.

> Ah tum te miserum, malique fati,
> Quem, attractis pedibus, patente porta,
> Percurrent mugilesque raphanique.*

The boys, and the pedlars, and the fruiterers, shall tell of this man, when he is carried to his grave, that he lived and died a poor wretched person. The stags in the Greek epigram, whose knees were clogged with frozen snow on the mountains, came down to the brooks of the valleys χλιῆναι νοτεροῖς νάμασιν ὠνὸ γόνυ, "hoping to thaw their joints with the waters of the stream:"† but there the frost overtook them, and bound them fast in ice, till the young herdsmen took them in their stranger snare. It is the unhappy chance of many men, finding many inconveniences on the mountains of single life, they descend into the valleys of marriage‡ to refresh their troubles, and there they enter into fetters, and are bound to sorrow by the cords of a man's or woman's peevishness: and the worst of the evil is, they are to thank their own follies; for they fell into the snare by entering an improper way: Christ and the church were no ingredients in their choice: but as the Indian women enter into folly for the price of an elephant, and think their crime warrantable; so do men and women change their liberty for a rich fortune (like Eriphyle the Argive, Ἡ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήεντα, "she preferred gold before a good man"), and show themselves to be less than money, by overvaluing that to all the content and wise felicity of their lives; and when they have counted the money and their sorrows together, how willingly would they buy, with the loss of all that money,

* Catull. xv. 19. † Brunck. An. ii. 135.

‡ Ἄχρις ἂν ᾖς ἄγαμος, Νοημήνιε, πάντα δοκεῖ σοι
Ἐν τῷ ζῆν εἶναι τἀγαθὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν.
Εἶθ' ὅταν εἰσέλθῃ γαμετὴ, πάλιν εὐθὺ δοκεῖ σοι
Ἐν τῷ ζῆν εἶναι πάντα κακῶν τὰ κακά.
Ἀλλὰ χάριν τέκνων, &c.

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modesty, or sweet nature, to their relative!* the odd thousand pounds would gladly be allowed in good nature and fair manners. As very a fool is he that chooses for beauty† principally; *cui sunt eruditi oculi, et stulta mens* (as one said), "whose eyes are witty, and their souls sensual;" it is an ill band of affections to tie two hearts together by a little thread of red and white.

Οὐδεμίαν (φησὶν ἡ τραγῳδία)
Ὥνησε κάλλος εἰς πόσιν ξυνόρον.

And they can love no longer but until the next ague comes; and they are fond of each other but at the chance of fancy, or the smallpox, or childbearing, or care, or time, or any thing that can destroy a pretty flower.‡ But it is the basest of all, when lust is the paranymph, and solicits the suit, and makes the contract, and joins the hands; for this is commonly the effect of the former, according to the Greek proverb;

Ἀλλ' ἤτοι πρώτιστα λέων γένετ' ἠϋγένειος
Αὖτὰρ ἔπειτα δράκων, καὶ πάρδαλις, ἠδὲ μέγας σῦς.§

At first, for his fair cheeks and comely beard, "the beast is taken for a lion, but at last he is turned to a dragon, or a leopard, or a swine." That which is at first beauty on the face, may prove lust in the manners.

Αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς θεοῖσι τὴν κέρκον μόνην
Καὶ μηρὸν, ὅσπερ παιδεραστοῖς, θύετε.

So Eubulus wittily reprehended such impure contracts: they offer in their marital sacrifices nothing but the thigh, and that which the priests cut from the goats, when they were laid to

* Non ego illam mihi dotem duco esse, quæ dos dicitur;
Sed pudicitiam, et pudorem, et sedatam cupidinem,
Deum metum, parentum amorem, et cognatum concordiam.
Plaut. in Amphit. ii. 2. 209.

† Facies, non uxor amatur.

‡ Tres rugæ subeant, et se cutis arida laxet,
Fiant obscuri dentes, oculique minores,
'Collige sarcinulas (dicet libertus) et exi.' Juven. Sat. vi.

§ Od. Δ. 456.

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bleed on the altars. Ἐὰν εἰς κάλλος σώματος βλέψῃ τις (ὁ λόγος φησὶ), καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ σὰρξ εἶναι κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν δόξῃ καλὴ, σαρκικῶς ἰδὼν, καὶ ἁμαρτηκὼς δι' οὗ τεθαύμακε, κρίνεται, said St. Clement: "He or she that looks too curiously on the beauty of the body, looks too low, and hath flesh and corruption in his heart, and is judged sensual and earthly in his affections and desires." Begin therefore with God; Christ is the president of marriage, and the Holy Ghost is the fountain of purities and chaste loves, and he joins the hearts; and therefore let our first suit be in the court of heaven, and with designs of piety, or safety, or charity: let no impure spirit defile the virgin purities and 'castifications of the soul' (as St. Peter's phrase is); let all such contracts begin with religious affections.

> Conjugium petimus, partumque uxoris; at illis
> Notum, qui pueri, qualisve futura sit uxor.*

"We sometimes beg of God for a wife or a child; and he alone knows what the wife shall prove, and by what dispositions and manners, and into what fortune that child shall enter:" but we shall not need to fear concerning the event of it if religion, and fair intentions, and prudence manage and conduct it all the way. The preservation of a family, the production of children, the avoiding fornication, the refreshment of our sorrows by the comforts of society; all these are fair ends of marriage, and hallow the entrance: but in these there is a special order; society was the first designed, 'It is not good for man to be alone:'—children was the next, 'Increase and multiply:'—but the avoiding fornication came in by the superfœtation of the evil accidents of the world. The first makes marriage delectable, the second necessary to the public, the third necessary to the particular; this is for safety, for life, and heaven itself;

> Nam simul ac venas inflavit tetra libido,
> Huc juvenes æquum est descendere————.†

The other have in them joy and a portion of immortality: the first makes the man's heart glad; the second is the friend

* Juv. x. 342. † Hor. Sat. i. 2. 33.

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of kingdoms, and cities, and families; and the third is the enemy to hell, and an antidote of the chiefest inlet to damnation: but of all these the noblest end is the multiplying of children. *Mundus cum patet, Deorum tristium atque inferum quasi patet janua: propterea uxorem, liberorum quærendorum causa, ducere religiosum est,* said Varro; "it is religion to marry for children;"* and Quintilian put it into the definition of a wife, *est enim uxor quam jungit, quam diducit utilitas; cujus hæc reverentia est, quod videtur inventa in causa liberorum;* and therefore St. Ignatius, when he had spoken of Elias, and Titus, and Clement, with an honorable mention of their virgin-state, lest he might seem to have lessened the married Apostles, at whose feet in Christ's kingdom he thought himself unworthy to sit, he gives this testimony,—they were *τοῖς γάμοις προσομιλήσαντες οὐχ ὑπὸ προθυμίας τῆς περὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ὑπ' εὐνοίας ἑαυτῶν τοῦ γένους ἔσχον ἐκείνους,* "that they may not be disparaged in their great names of holiness and severity, they were secured by not marrying to satisfy their lower appetites, but out of desire of children."† Other considerations, if they be incident and by way of appendage, are also considerable in the accounts of prudence: but when they become principals, they defile the mystery, and make the blessing doubtful: *Amabit sapiens, cupient cæteri,* said Afranius; "Love is a fair inducement, but desire and appetite are rude, and the characterisms of a sensual person;"—*Amare justi et boni est, cupere impotentis;* "To love belongs to a just and a good man; but to lust, or furiously and passionately to desire, is the sign of impotency and an unruly mind."

2. Man and wife are equally concerned to avoid all offences of each other in the beginning of their conversation: every little thing can blast an infant blossom; and the breath of the south can shake the little rings of the vine, when first they begin to curl like the locks of a new-weaned boy; but when by age and consolidation they stiffen into the hardness of a stem, and have, by the warm embraces of the sun and the kisses of heaven, brought forth their clusters, they can endure the storms of the north, and the loud noises of a tempest, and yet never

* Macrobius ex Varrone. † Epist. ad Philadelph.

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be broken: so are the early unions of an unfixed marriage; watchful and observant, jealous and busy, inquisitive and careful, and apt to take alarm at every unkind word. For infirmities do not manifest themselves in the first scenes, but in the succession of a long society; and it is not chance or weakness when it appears at first, but it is want of love or prudence, or it will be so expounded; and that which appears ill at first, usually affrights the inexperienced man or woman, who makes unequal conjectures, and fancies mighty sorrows by the proportions of the new and early unkindness. It is a very great passion, or a huge folly, or a certain want of love, that cannot preserve the colors and beauties of kindness, so long as public honesty requires a man to wear their sorrows for the death of a friend. Plutarch compares a new marriage to a vessel before the hoops are on; *κατὰ ἀρχὰς μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς τυχούσης ῥᾳδίως διασπᾶται προφάσεως*, "every thing dissolves their tender compaginations;" *χρόνῳ τῶν ἁρμῶν σύμπηξιν λαβόντων, μόγις ὑπὸ πυρὸς καὶ σιδήρου διαλύεται*, "but when the joints are stiffened and are tied by a firm compliance and proportioned bending, scarcely can it be dissolved without fire or the violence of iron." After the hearts of the man and the wife are endeared and hardened by a mutual confidence, and experience longer than artifice and pretence can last, there are a great many remembrances, and some things present, that dash all little unkindnesses in pieces. The little boy in the Greek epigram,* that was creeping down a precipice, was invited to his safety by the sight of his mother's pap, when nothing else could intice him to return: and the bond of common children, and the sight of her that nurses what is most dear to him, and the endearments of each other in the course of a long society, and the same relation, is an excellent security to redintegrate and to call that love back, which folly and trifling accidents would disturb.

———Tormentum ingens nubentibus hæret.
Quæ nequeunt parere, et partu retinere maritos.†

When it is come thus far, it is hard untwisting the knot; but

* *Μαζὸν τοῦ λοιμοῦ λύτορα καὶ θανάτου.* Brunck. An. ii. 196.
† Juv. ii. 137.

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be careful in its first coalition, that there be no rudeness done; for, if there be, it will for ever after be apt to start and to be diseased.

3. Let man and wife be careful to stifle little things,* that, as fast as they spring, they be cut down and trod on; for if they be suffered to grow by numbers, they make the spirit peevish, and the society troublesome, and the affections loose and easy by an habitual aversation. Some men are more vexed with a fly than with a wound; and when the gnats disturb our sleep, and the reason is disquieted but not perfectly awakened, it is often seen that he is fuller of trouble, than if, in the daylight of his reason, he were to contest with a potent enemy. In the frequent little accidents of a family, a man's reason cannot always be awake; and when his discourses are imperfect, and a trifling trouble makes him yet more restless, he is soon betrayed to the violence of passion. It is certain that the man or woman are in a state of weakness and folly then, when they can be troubled with a trifling accident; and therefore, it is not good to tempt their affections, when they are in that state of danger. In this case the caution is, to subtract fuel from the sudden flame; for stubble, though it be quickly kindled, yet it is as soon extinguished, if it be not blown by a pertinacious breath, or fed with new materials. Add no new provocations to the accident, and do not inflame this, and peace will soon return, and the discontent will pass away soon, as the sparks from the collision of a flint: ever remembering, that discontents, proceeding from daily little things, do breed a secret undiscernible disease, which is more dangerous than a fever proceeding from a discerned notorious surfeit.

4. Let them be sure to abstain from all those things, which by experience and observation they find to be contrary to each other. They that govern elephants, never appear before them in white; and the masters of bulls keep from them all garments of blood and scarlet, as knowing that they will be impatient of civil usages and discipline, when their natures are provoked by their proper antipathies. The ancients in their

* Quædam parva quidem, sed non toleranda maritis.
Juv. vi. 184.

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marital hieroglyphics used to depict Mercury standing by Venus, to signify, that by fair language and sweet intreaties, the minds of each other should be united; and hard by them, *Suadam et Gratias descripserunt*, they would have all deliciousness of manners, compliance and mutual observance to abide.*

5. Let the husband and wife infinitely avoid a curious distinction of mine and thine; for this hath caused all the laws, and all the suits, and all the wars, in the world; let them who have but one person, have also but one interest. The husband and wife are heirs to each other (as Dionysius Halicarnasseus relates from Romulus) if they die without children; but if there be children, the wife is τοῖς παισὶν ἰσόμοιρος, "a partner in the inheritance." But during their life, the use and employment is common to both their necessities, and in this there is no other difference of right, but that the man hath the dispensation of all, and may keep it from his wife, just as the governor of a town may keep it from the right owner; he hath the power, but no right, to do so. And when either of them begins to impropriate, it is like a tumor in the flesh, it draws more than its share; but what it feeds on, turns to a bile; and therefore, the Romans forbade any donations to be made between man and wife, because neither of them could transfer a new right of those things which already they had in common; but this is to be understood only concerning the uses of necessity and personal conveniences; for so all may be the woman's, and all may be the man's, in several regards. Corvinus dwells in a farm and receives all its profits, and reaps and sows as he pleases, and eats of the corn and drinks of the wine—it is his own: but all that also is his lord's, and for it Corvinus pays acknowlegment; and his patron hath such powers and uses of it as are proper to the lord's; and yet, for all this, it may be the king's too, to all the purposes that he can need, and is all to be accounted in the census and for certain services and times

* —— Hujus enim rari summique voluptas
Nulla boni, quoties animo corrupta superbo
Plus aloes quam mellis habet.

Juven. Sat. vi. 154.

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of danger: so are the riches of a family; they are a woman's as well as a man's: they are hers for need, and hers for ornament, and hers for modest delight, and for the uses of religion and prudent charity; but the disposing them into portions of inheritance, the assignation of charges and governments, stipends and rewards, annuities and greater donatives, are the reserves of the superior right, and not to be invaded by the under-possessors. But in those things, where they ought to be common, if the spleen or the belly swells and draws into its capacity much of that which should be spent on those parts which have an equal right to be maintained,—it is a dropsy or a consumption of the whole, something that is evil because it is unnatural and monstrous. Macarius, in his thirty-second Homily, speaks fully in this particular: a woman betrothed to a man bears all her portion, and with a mighty love pours it into the hands of her husband, and says, ἐμὸν οὐδὲν ἔχω, "I have nothing of my own;" my goods, my portion, my body, and my mind, are yours. Νόμῳ γὰρ ἅπαντα γίγνεται τοῦ γεγαμηκότος, τὸν πλοῦτον, τὴν δόξαν, τοὺς ἐπαίνους,—"All that a woman hath, is reckoned to the right of her husband; not her wealth and her person only, but her reputation and her praise;" so Lucian.* But as the earth, the mother of all creatures here below, sends up all its vapors and proper emissions at the command of the sun, and yet requires them again to refresh her own needs, and they are deposited between them both in the bosom of a cloud, as a common receptacle, that they may cool his flames, and yet descend to make her fruitful; so are the proprieties of a wife to be disposed of by her lord; and yet all are for her provisions, it being a part of his need to refresh and supply hers, and it serves the interest of both while it serves the necessities of either.

These are the duties of them both, which have common regards and equal necessities and obligations; and, indeed, there is scarce any matter of duty, but it concerns them both alike, and is only distinguished by names, and hath its variety by circumstances and little accidents: and what in one is called 'love,' in the other is called 'reverence;' and what in the

* Ῥητόρων διδάσκαλος.

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wife is 'obedience,' the same in the man is 'duty.' He provides, and she dispenses; he gives commandments, and she rules by them; he rules her by authority, and she rules him by love; she ought by all means to please him, and he must by no means displease her. For as the heart is set in the midst of the body, and though it strikes to one side by the prerogative of nature, yet those throbs and constant motions are felt on the other side also, and the influence is equal to both; so it is in conjugal duties: some motions are to the one side more than to the other, but the interest is on both, and the duty is equal in the several instances. If it be otherwise, the man enjoys a wife as Periander did his dead Melissa, by an unnatural union, neither pleasing nor holy, useless to all the purposes of society, and dead to content.

SERMON VII.

PART II.

THE next inquiry is more particular, and considers the power and duty of the man; 'Let every one of you so love his wife even as himself;' she is as himself, the man hath power over her as over himself, and must love her equally. A husband's power over his wife is paternal and friendly, not magisterial and despotic. The wife is in *perpetua tutela*, under conduct and counsel; for the power a man hath, is founded in the understanding, not in the will or force; it is not a power of coercion, but a power of advice, and that government that wise men have over those who are fit to be conducted by them: *Et vos in manu et in tutela, non in servitio debetis habere eas; et malle patres vos, et viros, quam dominos dici*, said Valerius in Livy; "husbands should rather be fathers than lords." Homer adds more soft appellatives to the character of a husband's duty;

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πατὴρ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῇ καὶ πότνια μήτηρ, ἠδὲ κασίγνητος, "Thou art to be a father and a mother to her, and a brother:" and great reason, unless the state of marriage should be no better than the condition of an orphan. For she that is bound to leave father, and mother, and brother for thee, either is miserable like a poor fatherless child, or else ought to find all these, and more, in thee. Medea in Euripides had cause to complain when she found it otherwise.

> Πάντων δ', ὅσ' ἔστ' ἔμψυχα, καὶ γνώμην ἔχει,
> Γυναῖκές ἐσμεν ἀθλιώτατον φυτόν.
> Ἃς πρῶτα μὲν δεῖ χρημάτων ὑπερβολῇ
> Πόσον πρίασθαι, δεσπότην τε σώματος
> Λαβεῖν.*

Which St. Ambrose † well translates: "It is sad, when virgins are with their own money sold to slavery; and that services are in better state than marriages; for they receive wages, but these buy their fetters, and pay dear for their loss of liberty;" and therefore, the Romans expressed the man's power over his wife but by a gentle word; *Nec vero mulieribus præfectus reponatur, qui apud Græcos creari solet, sed sit censor qui viros doceat moderari uxoribus*, said Cicero; "Let there be no governor of the woman appointed, but a censor of manners, one to teach the men to moderate their wives," that is, fairly to induce them to the measures of their own proportions. It was rarely observed of Philo, Εὖ τὸ μὴ φάναι, ἣ γυνὴ ἣν ἔδωκας ἐμοὶ, ἀλλὰ, μετ' ἐμοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ ὡς κτῆμα τὴν αἴσθησιν ἔδωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴν ἀφῆκας ἄνετον καὶ ἐλεύθερον· "When Adam made that fond excuse for his folly in eating the forbidden fruit, he said 'The woman thou gavest to be *with* me, she gave me.' He says not 'The woman which thou gavest *to* me,' no such thing; she is none of his goods, none of his possessions, not to be reckoned amongst his servants; God did not give her to him so; but 'The woman thou gavest to be with me,' that is, to be my partner, the companion of my joys and sorrows, thou gavest her for use, not for dominion." The dominion of a man over his wife is no other than as the soul rules the body; for which

* Med. 232. Porson. † Exhort. ad Virg.

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it takes a mighty care, and uses it with a delicate tenderness, and cares for it in all contingencies, and watches to keep it from all evils, and studies to make for it fair provisions, and very often is led by its inclinations and desires, and does never contradict its appetites, but when they are evil, and then also not without some trouble and sorrow; and its government comes only to this, it furnishes the body with light and understanding, and the body furnishes the soul with hands and feet; the soul governs, because the body cannot else be happy, but the government is no other than provision; as a nurse governs a child, when she causes him to eat, and to be warm, and dry, and quiet: and yet even the very government itself is divided; for man and wife in the family are as the sun and moon in the firmament of heaven; he rules by day, and she by night, that is, in the lesser and more proper circles of her affairs, in the conduct of domestic provisions and necessary offices, and shines only by his light, and rules by his authority; and as the moon in opposition to the sun shines brightest, that is, then, when she is in her own circles and separate regions; so is the authority of the wife then most conspicuous, when she is separate and in her proper sphere; *in gynæceo*, in the nursery and offices of domestic employment: but when she is in conjunction with the sun her brother, that is, in that place and employment in which his care and proper offices are employed, her light is not seen, her authority hath no proper business; but else there is no difference: for they were barbarous people, among whom wives were instead of servants, said Spartianus in Caracalla; and it is a sign of impotency and weakness, to force the camels to kneel for their load, because thou hast not spirit and strength enough to climb; to make the affections and evenness of a wife bend by the flexures of a servant, is a sign the man is not wise enough to govern, when another stands by. So many differences as can be in the appellatives of *dominus* and *domina*, governor and governess, lord and lady, master and mistress, the same difference there is in the authority of man and woman, and no more; *Si tu Caius, ego Caia*, was publicly proclaimed on the threshold of the young man's house, when the bride entered into his hands and power; and the title of *domina* in

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the sense of the civil law, was among the Romans given to wives.

Hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti,*

said Virgil: where, though Servius says it was spoken after the manner of the Greeks, who called the wife Δέσποιναν, 'lady' or 'mistress,' yet it was so amongst both the nations.

'Ac domus dominam voca,' says Catullus;†
'Hærebit dominæ vir comes ipse suæ,' so Martial;

And, therefore, although there is just measure of subjection and obedience due from the wife to the husband (as I shall after explain), yet nothing of this is expressed in the man's character, or in his duty; he is not commanded to rule, nor instructed how, nor bidden to exact obedience, or to defend his privilege; all his duty is signified by love, 'by nourishing and cherishing,'‡ by being joined with her in all the unions of charity, by 'not being bitter to her,'§ by 'dwelling with her according to knowlege, giving honor to her:'‖ so that it seems to be with husbands, as it is with bishops and priests, to whom much honor is due; but yet so that if they stand on it, and challenge it, they become less honorable: and as amongst men and women humility is the way to be preferred; so it it is in husbands, they shall prevail by cession, by sweetness and counsel, and charity and compliance. So that we cannot discourse of the man's right, without describing the measures of his duty; that therefore follows next.

2. 'Let him love his wife even as himself:'—that is his duty, and the measure of it too; which is so plain, that if he understands how he treats himself, there needs nothing be added concerning his demeanor towards her, save only that we add the particulars, in which Holy Scripture instances this general commandment.

Μὴ πικραίνετε. That is the first. 'Be not bitter against her;' and this is the least index and signification of love: a civil man is never bitter against a friend or a stranger, much

* Æneid. vi. 397. † Epithal. Juliæ, 61.
‡ Ephes. v. 25. § Col. iii. 19. ‖ 1 Pet. iii. 7.

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less to him that enters under his roof, and is secured by the laws of hospitality. But a wife does all that and more; she quits all her interest for his love, she gives him all that she can give, she is as much the same person as another can be the same, who is conjoined by love, and mystery, and religion, and all that is sacred and profane.

> Non equidem hoc dubites, amborum fœdere certo
> Consentire dies, et ab uno sidere duci;*

They have the same fortune, the same family, the same children, the same religion, the same interest, 'the same flesh,' *erant duo in carnem unam;* and therefore this the Apostle urges for his μὴ πικραίνετε, 'no man hateth his own flesh, but nourisheth and cherisheth it;' and he certainly is strangely sacrilegious and a violater of the rights of hospitality and sanctuary, who uses her rudely, who is fled for protection, not only to his house, but also to his heart and bosom. A wise man will not wrangle with any one, much less with his dearest relative; and if it is accounted indecent to embrace in public, it is extremely shameful to brawl in public: for the other is in itself lawful; but this never, though it were assisted with the best circumstances of which it is capable. Marcus Aurelius said, that "a wise man ought often to admonish his wife, to reprove her seldom, but never to lay his hands on her:"† *neque verberibus neque maledictis exasperandam uxorem,* said the doctors of the Jews; and Homer brings in Jupiter sometimes speaking sharply to Juno (according to the Greek liberty and empire), but made a pause at striking her,

> Οὐ μὰν οἶδ', εἰ αὖτε κακορραφίης ἀλεγεινῆς
> Πρώτη ἐπαύρηαι, καί σε πληγῇσιν ἱμάσσω‡

* Pers. v. 45.

† Ah lapis est ferrumque, suam quicunque puellam
Verberat: e cœlo deripit ille Deos.
Sit satis e membris tenuem præscindere vestem:
Sit satis ornatus dissoluisse comæ:
Sit lacrymas movisse satis: quater ille beatus,
Quo tenera irato flere puella potest.
Sed manibus qui sævus erit, scutumque sudemque
Is gerat, et miti sit procul a Venere. Tibull. i. 10. 60.

‡ Iliad. o. 16.

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And the ancients use to sacrifice to Juno γαμήλιος, or, "the president of marriage," without gall; and St. Basil observes and urges it by way of upbraiding quarrelling husbands; *Etiam vipera virus ob nuptiarum venerationem evomit*, "The viper casts all his poison, when he marries his female;" *Tu duritiam animi, tu feritatem, tu crudelitatem ob unionis reverentiam non deponis?** He is worse than a viper, who for the reverence of this sacred union will not abstain from such a poisonous bitterness: and how shall he embrace that person whom he hath smitten reproachfully? for those kindnesses are indecent which the fighting-man pays unto his wife. St. Chrysostom preaching earnestly against this barbarous inhumanity of striking the wife, or reviling her with evil language, says, it is as if a king should beat his viceroy and use him like a dog; from whom most of that reverence and majesty must needs depart, which he first put on him, and the subjects shall pay him less duty, how much his prince hath treated him with less civility; but the loss redounds to himself; and the government of the whole family shall be disordered, if blows be laid on that shoulder which together with the other ought to bear nothing but the cares and the issues of a prudent government. And it is observable, that no man ever did this rudeness for a virtuous end; it is an incompetent instrument, and may proceed from wrath and folly, but can never end in virtue and the unions of a prudent and fair society. *Quod si verberaveris, exasperabis morbum* (saith St. Chrysostom): *asperitas enim mansuetudine, non alia asperitate, dissolvitur;* "If you strike, you exasperate the wound," and (like Cato at Utica in his despair) tear the wounds in pieces; and yet he that did so ill to himself whom he loved well, he loved not women tenderly, and yet would never strike; and if the man cannot endure her talking, how can she endure his striking? But this caution contains a duty in it which none prevaricates, but the meanest of the people, fools, and bedlams, whose kindness is a curse, whose government is by chance and violence, and their families are herds of talking cattle.

* Homil. 7. Hexam

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Sic alternos reficit cursus
Alternus Amor, sic astrigeris
Bellum discors exulat oris.
Hæc concordia temperat æquis
Elementa modis, ut pugnantia
Vicibus cedant humida siccis,
Jungantque fidem frigora flammis.

The marital love is infinitely removed from all possibility of such rudenesses: it is a thing pure as light, sacred as a temple, lasting as the world. *Amicitia, quæ desinere potuit, nunquam vera fuit*, said one; "That love, that can cease, was never true:" it is ὁμιλία, so Moses called it; it is εὔνοια, so St. Paul; it is φιλότης, so Homer; it is φιλοφροσύνη, so Plutarch; that is, it contains in it all 'sweetness,' and all 'society,' and 'felicity,' and all 'prudence,' and all 'wisdom.' For there is nothing can please a man without love; and if a man be weary of the wise discourses of the Apostles, and of the innocency of an even and a private fortune, or hates peace or a fruitful year, he hath reaped thorns and thistles from the choicest flowers of paradise; "for nothing can sweeten felicity itself but love:"* but when a man dwells in love, then the breasts of his wife are pleasant as the droppings on the hill of Hermon, her eyes are fair as the light of heaven, she is a fountain sealed, and he can quench his thirst, and ease his cares, and lay his sorrow down on her lap, and can retire home to his sanctuary and refectory, and his gardens of sweetness and chaste refreshments. No man can tell but he that loves his children, how many delicious accents make a man's heart dance in the pretty conversation of those dear pledges; their childishness, their stammering, their little angers, their innocence, their imperfections, their necessities, are so many little emanations of joy and comfort to him that delights in their persons and society; but he that loves not his wife and children, feeds

* Felices ter et amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet copula, nec, malis
Divulsus querimoniis,
Suprema citius solvet amor die.
Horat. Od. i. 13. 17.

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a lioness at home, and broods a nest of sorrows; and blessing itself cannot make him happy; so that all the commandments of God enjoining a man to 'love his wife,' are nothing but so many necessities and capacities of joy. 'She that is loved, is safe; and he that loves is joyful.' Love is a union of all things excellent; it contains in it, proportion and satisfaction, and rest and confidence; and I wish that this were so much proceeded in, that the heathens themselves could not go beyond us in this virtue, and its proper, and its appendant happiness. Tiberius Gracchus chose to die for the safety of his wife; and yet methinks for a Christian to do so, should be no hard thing; for many servants will die for their masters, and many gentlemen will die for their friend; but the examples are not so many of those that are ready to do it for their dearest relatives, and yet some there have been. Baptista Fregosa tells of a Neapolitan, that gave himself a slave to the Moors, that he might follow his wife; and Dominicus Catalusius, the prince of Lesbos, kept company with his lady when she was a leper; and these are greater things than to die.

But the cases in which this can be required, are so rare and contingent, that Holy Scripture instances not the duty in this particular; but it contains in it, that the husband should nourish and cherish her, that he should refresh her sorrows and entice her fears into confidence and pretty arts of rest; for even the fig-trees that grew in paradise, had sharp-pointed leaves, and harshnesses fit to mortify the too-forward lusting after the sweetness of the fruit. But it will concern the prudence of the husband's love to make the cares and evils as simple and easy as he can, by doubling the joys and acts of a careful friendship, by tolerating her infirmities,* (because by so doing, he either cures her, or makes himself better) by fairly expounding all the little traverses of society and communication, "by taking every thing by the right handle," as Plutarch's expression is; for there is nothing but may be misinterpreted, and yet if it be capable of a fair construction, it is the office of love to make it.

* Uxoris vitium tollas opus est, aut feras:
Qui tollit vitium, uxorem commodiusculam sibi præstat;
Qui fert, sese meliorem facit. Varro.

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Εὖ λέγειν δ', ὅτ' ἂν τι λέξῃ, χρὴ δοκεῖν, κἂν μὴ λέγῃ.
Κἀκεινοῦν, ἃ 'ν τῷ ξυνόντι πρὸς χάριν μέλλῃ λέγειν.*

Love will account that to be well said, which, it may be, was not so intended; and then it may cause it to be so, another time.

3. Hither also is to be referred that he secure the interest of her virtue and felicity by a fair example; for a wife to a husband is a line or superficies; it hath dimensions of its own, but no motion or proper affections; but commonly puts on such images of virtues or vices as are presented to her by her husband's idea: and if thou beest vicious, complain not that she is infected that lies in thy bosom; the interest of whose love ties her to transcribe thy copy, and write after the characters of thy manners. Paris was a man of pleasure, and Helena was an adulteress, and she added covetousness on her own account. But Ulysses was a prudent man, and a wary counsellor, sober and severe; and he efformed his wife into such imagery as he desired; and she was chaste as the snows on the mountains, diligent as the fatal sisters, always busy, and always faithful; γλῶσσαν μὲν ἀργὴν, χεῖρα δ' εἶχεν ἐργάτην· "she had a lazy tongue, and a busy hand."

4. Above all the instances of love let him preserve towards her an inviolable faith, and an unspotted chastity;† for this is the marriage-ring; it ties two hearts by an eternal band; it is like the cherubim's flaming sword, set for the guard of paradise; he that passes into that garden, now that it is immured by Christ and the church, enters into the shades of death. No man must touch the forbidden tree, that in the midst of the garden, which is the tree of knowlege and life. Chastity is the security of love, and preserves all the mysteriousness like the secrets of a temple. Under this lock is deposited security of families, the union of affections, the repairer of accidental breaches.

——— Καί σφ' ἄκριτα νείκεα λύσω
Εἰς εὐνὴν ἀνέσαιμι ὁμαθῆναι φιλότητι.‡

* Eurip. Beck. t. ii. p 490.

† Καὶ ἀνόθευτον τηροῦσι τὸν γάμον.

‡ Il. Ξ. 295.

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This is a grace that is shut up and secured by all arts of heaven, and the defence of laws, the locks and bars of modesty, by honor and reputation, by fear and shame, by interest and high regards; and that contract that is intended to be for ever, is yet dissolved, and broken by the violation of this; nothing but death can do so much evil to the holy rites of marriage, as unchastity and breach of faith can. The shepherd Cratis falling in love with a she goat, had his brains beaten out with a buck as he lay asleep; and by the laws of the Romans, a man might kill his daughter or his wife, if he surprised her in the breach of her holy vows, which are as sacred as the threads of life, secret as the privacies of the sanctuary, and holy as the society of angels. *Nullæ sunt inimicitiæ nisi amoris acerbæ;* and God that commanded us to forgive our enemies, left it in our choice, and hath not commanded us to forgive an adulterous husband or a wife; but the offended party's displeasure may pass into an eternal separation of society and friendship. Now in this grace it is fit that the wisdom and severity of the man should hold forth a pure taper, that his wife may, by seeing the beauties and transparencies of that crystal, dress her mind and her body by the light of so pure reflexions; it is certain he will expect it from the modesty and retirement, from the passive nature and colder temper, from the humility and fear, from the honor and love, of his wife, that she be pure as the eye of heaven: and therefore it is but reason that the wisdom and nobleness, the love and confidence, the strength and severity, of the man, should be as holy and certain in this grace, as he is a severe exactor of it at her hands, who can more easily be tempted by another, and less by herself.

These are the little lines of a man's duty, which, like threads of light from the body of the sun, do clearly describe all the regions of his proper obligations. Now concerning the woman's duty, although it consists in doing whatsoever her husband commands, and so receives measures from the rules of his government, yet there are also some lines of life depicted on her hands, by which she may read and know how to proportion out her duty to her husband.

1. The first is obedience; which because it is no where enjoined that the man should exact of her, but often commanded

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to her to pay, gives demonstration that it is a voluntary cession that is required; such a cession as must be without coercion and violence on his part, but on fair inducements, and reasonableness in the thing, and out of love and honor on her part. When God commands us to love him, he means we should obey him; 'This is love, that ye keep my commandments;' and 'if ye love me' (said our Lord), 'keep my commandments:' now as Christ is to the church, so is man to the wife; and therefore obedience is the best instance of her love; for it proclaims her submission, her humility, her opinion of his wisdom, his pre-eminence in the family, the right of his privilege, and the injunction imposed by God on her sex, that although in sorrow she bring forth children, yet with love and choice she should obey. The man's authority is love, and the woman's love is obedience; and it was not rightly observed of him that said, when the woman fell, "God made her timorous, that she might be ruled," apt and easy to obey; for this obedience is no way founded in fear, but in love and reverence. *Receptæ reverentiæ est, si mulier viro subsit*, said the law;* unless also that we will add, that it is an effect of that modesty, which like rubies, adorns the necks and cheeks of women. *Pudicitia est, pater, Eos magnificare, qui nos socias sumpserunt sibi*,† said the maiden in the comedy: "it is modesty to advance and highly to honor them, who have honored us by making us to be the companions"‡ of their dearest excellences; for the women that went before the man in the way of death, is commanded to follow him in the way of love; and that makes the society to be perfect, and the union profitable, and the harmony complete.

Inferior matrona suo sit, Prisce, marito;
Non aliter fuerint fœmina virque pares.‡

For then the soul and body make a perfect man, when the soul commands wisely, or rules lovingly, and cares profitably, and provides plentifully, and conducts charitably that body which is its partner, and yet the inferior. But if the body shall give laws, and, by the violence of the appetite, first abuse the under-

* C. alia D. se. Int. Matrim. † Plautus in Sticho, i. 2. 43.
‡ Mart. viii. 12.

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standing, and then possess the superior portion of the will and choice, the body and the soul are not apt company, and the man is a fool, and miserable. If the soul rules not, it cannot be a companion; either it must govern, or be a slave: never was king deposed and suffered to live in the state of peerage and equal honor, but made a prisoner, or put to death; and those women, that had rather lead the blind than follow prudent guides, rule fools and easy men than obey the powerful and wise, never made a good society in a house: a wife never can become equal but by obeying; but so her power, while it is in minority, makes up the authority of the man integral, and becomes one government, as themselves are one man. 'Male and female created he them, and called their name Adam,' saith the Holy Scripture;* they are but one: and therefore, the several parts of this one man must stand in the place where God appointed, that the lower parts may do their offices in their own station, and promote the common interest of the whole. A ruling woman is intolerable.

——— Faciunt graviora coactæ
Imperio sexus.†

But that is not all; for she is miserable too: for,

Τὰ δευτερεῖα τὴν γυναῖκα δεῖ λέγειν,
Τὴν δ' ἡγεμονίαν τῶν ὅλων τὸν ἄνδρ' ἔχειν.‡

It is a sad calamity for a woman to be joined to a fool or a weak person; it is like a guard of geese to keep the capitol; or as if a flock of sheep should read grave lectures to their shepherd, and give him orders where he shall conduct them to pasture. *O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phryges:* it is a curse that God threatened sinning persons; *Devoratum est robur eorum, facti sunt quasi mulierc.s. Effœminati dominabuntur eis;*§ "to be ruled by weaker people:" δοῦλον γενέσθαι παραφρονοῦντος δεσπότου,‖ "to have a fool to one's master," is the fate of miserable and unblessed people: and the wife can be no ways happy, unless she be governed by a prudent lord, whose

* Gen. v. 2. † Juvenal. vi. 109. ‡ Stob. Floril. tit. 74.
§ Isa. iii. 4. ‖ Arist. Plut. 2.

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commands are sober counsels, whose authority is paternal, whose orders are provisions, and whose sentences are charity.

But now concerning the measures and limits of this obedience, we can best take accounts from Scripture: ἐν παντὶ, saith the Apostle, 'in all things,'* *ut Domino*, 'as to the Lord;' and that is large enough; 'as unto a lord,' *ut ancilla domino;* so St. Jerome understands it, who neither was a friend to the sex, nor to marriage; but his mistake is soon confuted by the text; it is not *ut dominis*, be subject to your husbands 'as unto lords,' but ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ, that is, 'in all religion,' in reverence and in love, in duty and zeal, in faith and knowlege; or else ὡς τῷ Κυρίῳ, may signify, 'wives be subject to your husbands; but yet so, that at the same time ye be subject to the Lord.' For that is the measure of ἐν παντὶ, 'in all things;' and it is more plain in the parallel place, ὡς ἀνῆκεν ἐν Κυρίῳ, 'as it is fit in the Lord:'† religion must be the measure of your obedience and subjection: *intra limites disciplinæ;* so Tertullian expresses it. Πάντα μὲν τῷ ἀνδρὶ πειθομένη, ὡς μηδὲν, ἄκοντος ἐκείνου, πράξαι ποτὲ, πλὴν ὅσα εἰς ἀρετὴν καὶ σοφίαν διαφέρειν νομίζεται· so Clemens Alex.‡ "In all things let the wife be subject to the husband, so as to do nothing against his will; those only things excepted, in which he is impious or refractory in things pertaining to wisdom and piety."

But in this also there is some peculiar caution. For although in those things which are of the necessary parts of faith and holy life, the woman is only subject to Christ, who only is and can be Lord of consciences, and commands alone where the conscience is instructed and convinced; yet as it is part of the man's office to be a teacher, and a prophet, and a guide, and a master; so also it will relate very much to the demonstration of their affections to obey his counsels, to imitate his virtues, to be directed by his wisdom, to have her persuasion measured by the lines of his excellent religion: οὐχ ἧττον δὲ σεμνὸν ἀκούσαι γαμετῆς λεγούσης, ἀνὴρ σύ μοι ἐσσὶ καθηγητὴς καὶ φιλόσοφος καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν καλλίστων καὶ θειοτάτων· "It were hugely decent," saith Plutarch, "that the wife should acknowlege her husband for her teacher and her guide;" for then when she is

* Ephes. v. 24. † Col. iii. 18. ‡ Stromat7.

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what he please to efform her, he hath no cause to complain if she be no better: *τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτα μαθήματα πρῶτον ἀφίστησι τῶν ἀτόπων τὰς γυναῖκας*; "his precepts and wise counsels can draw her off from vanities;" and, as he said of geometry, that, if she be skilled in that, she will not easily be a gamester or a dancer, may perfectly be said of religion. If she suffers herself to be guided by his counsel, and efformed by his religion; either he is an ill master in his religion, or he may secure in her and for his advantage an excellent virtue. And although in matters of religion the husband hath no empire and command, yet if there be a place left to persuade, and entreat, and induce by arguments, there is not in a family a greater endearment of affections than the unity of religion: and anciently "it was not permitted to a woman to have a religion by herself:" *Eosdem quos maritus nosse Deos. et colere solos uxor debet*, said Plutarch. And the rites which a woman performs severally from her husband, are not pleasing to God; and therefore Pomponia Græcina, because she entertained a stranger religion, was permitted to the judgment of her husband Plantius: and this whole affair is no stranger to Christianity, for the Christian woman was not suffered to marry an unbelieving man; and although this is not to be extended to different opinions within the limits of the common faith; yet thus much advantage is won or lost by it; that the compliance of the wife, and submission of her understanding to the better rule of her husband in matters of religion, will help very much to warrant her, though she should be mispersuaded in a matter less necessary; yet nothing can warrant her in her separate rites and manners of worshippings, but an invincible necessity of conscience, and a curious infallible truth; and if she be deceived alone, she hath no excuse; if with him, she hath much pity, and some degrees of warranty under the protection of humility, and duty, and dear affections; and she will find that it is part of her privilege and right to partake of the mysteries and blessings of her husband's religion. *Γυναῖκα γαμετὴν μετὰ νόμους ἱεροὺς συνελθοῦσαν ἀνδρὶ κοινωνὸν ἁπάντων εἶναι, χρημάτων τε καὶ ἱερῶν*, said Romulus: "A woman by the holy laws hath right to partake of her husband's goods, and her husband's sacrifices, and holy

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things." Where there is a schism in one bed, there is a nursery of temptations, and love is persecuted and in perpetual danger to be destroyed; there dwell jealousies, and divided interests, and differing opinions, and continual disputes,* and we cannot love them so well, whom we believe to be less beloved of God; and it is ill uniting with a person, concerning whom my persuasion tells me, that he is like to live in hell to eternal ages.

2. The next line of the woman's duty is compliance, which St. Peter calls 'the hidden man of the heart, the ornament of a meek and a quiet spirit,'† and to it he opposes 'the outward and pompous ornament of the body;' concerning which, as there can be no particular measure set down to all persons, but the proportions were to be measured by the customs of wise people, the quality of the woman, and the desires of the man; yet it is to be limited by Christian modesty, and the usages of the more excellent and severe matrons. Menander in the comedy brings in a man turning his wife from his house, because she stained her hair yellow, which was then the beauty.

> Νῦν δ' ἔρπ' ἀπ' οἴκων τῶνδε· τὴν γυναῖκα γὰρ
> Τὴν σάφρον' οὐ δεῖ τὰς τρίχας ξανθὰς ποιεῖν. Cleric. p. 258.

A wise woman should not paint. A studious gallantry in clothes cannot make a wise man love his wife the better.‡ Εἰς τοὺς τραγῳδοὺς χρήσιμ', οὐκ εἰς τὸν βιόν, said the comedy; "Such gaieties are fit for tragedies, but not for the uses of life." *Decor occultus, et tecta venustas;* that is the Christian woman's fineness; 'the hidden man of the heart,' sweetness of man-

* ——— Quis deditus autem
Usque adeo est, ut non illam, quam laudibus effert,
Horreat, inque diem septenis oderit horis?
Juven. Sat. vi. 156.

† 1 Pet. iii. 4.

‡ Quid juvat ornato procedere, vita, capillo,
Teque peregrinis vendere muneribus,
Naturæque decus mercato perdere cultu,
Nec simere in propriis membra nitere bonis?
Propert. i. el. 1.

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ners, humble comportment, fair interpretation of all addresses, ready compliance, high opinion of him and mean of herself.*

Ἐν κοινῷ λύπης ἡδονῆς τ' ἔχειν μέρος, "To partake secretly, and in her heart, of all his joys and sorrows," to believe him comely and fair,† though the sun hath drawn a cyprus over him; for as marriages are not to be contracted by the hands and eye, but with reason and the hearts; so are these judgments to be made by the mind, not by the sight: and diamonds cannot make the woman virtuous, nor him to value her who sees her put them off then, when charity and modesty are her brightest ornaments.

> Οὐ κόσμος, οὐκ, ὦ τλῆμον, ἀλλ' ἀκοσμία
> Φαίνοιτ' ἂν εἶναι σῶν γε μαργότης φρενῶν, &c.

And, indeed, those husbands that are pleased with indecent gaieties of their wives, are like fishes taken with ointments and intoxicating baits, apt and easy for sport and mockery, but useless for food; and when Circe had turned Ulysses's companions into hogs and monkeys, by pleasures and the enchantments of her bravery and luxury, they were no longer useful to her, she knew not what to do with them; but on wise Ulysses she was continually enamored. Indeed, the outward ornament is fit to take fools, but they are not worth the taking; but she that hath a wise husband, must intice him to an eternal dearness by the veil of modesty and the grave robes of chastity, the ornament of meekness, and the jewels of faith and charity; she must have no fucus but blushings, her brightness must be purity, and she must shine round about with sweetnesses and friendship, and she shall be pleasant while she lives, and desired when she dies. If not,

> Κατθανοῖσα δὲ κείσεαί ποτε, καὶ μναμοσύνα σέθεν
> Ἔσσετ' οὐδέποκ' αὖ ὕστερον· οὐ γὰρ πεδέχεις ῥόδων
> Τῶν ἐκ Πιερίας.—See MITSCHERL. HORAT. i. iv.

Her grave shall be full of rottenness and dishonor, and her

* Malo Venusinam, quam te, Cornelia, mater
Gracchorum, si cum magnis virtutibus affers
Grande supercilium, et numeras in dote triumphos.
Juven. Sat. vi. 142.

† Πρῶτα μέν γε τοῦθ' ὑπάρχειν· κἂν ἄμορφος ᾖ πόσις, χρὴ δοκεῖν εὔμορφον εἶναι τῇ γε νοῦν κεκτημένῃ· οὐ γὰρ ὀφθαλμὸς τὸ κρίνον ἐστὶν ἀλλὰ νοῦς.

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memory shall be worse after she is dead: "after she is dead;" for that will be the end of all merry meetings; and I choose this to be the last advice to both.

3. "Remember the days of darkness, for they are many;" the joys of the bridal chamber are quickly past, and the remaining portion of the state is a dull progress, without variety of joys, but not without the change of sorrows; but that portion that shall enter into the grave, must be eternal. It is fit that I should infuse a bunch of myrrh into the festival goblet, and, after the Egyptian manner, serve up a dead man's bones at a feast: I will only show it, and take it away again; it will make the wine bitter, but wholesome. But those married pairs that live, as remembering that they must part again, and give an account how they treat themselves and each other, shall, at that day of their death, be admitted to glorious espousals; and when they shall live again, be married to their Lord, and partake of his glories, with Abraham and Joseph, St. Peter and St. Paul, and all the married saints.

Θνητὰ τὰ τῶν θνητῶν, καὶ πάντα παρέρχεται ἡμᾶς·
*Εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτὰ παρερχόμεθα.**

"All those things that now please us shall pass from us, or we from them;" but those things that concern the other life, are permanent as the numbers of eternity: and although at the resurrection there shall be no relation of husband and wife, and no marriage shall be celebrated but the marriage of the Lamb; yet then shall be remembered how men and women passed through this state which is a type of that, and from this sacramental union all holy pairs shall pass to the spiritual and eternal; where love shall be their portion, and joys shall crown their heads, and they shall lie in the bosom of Jesus, and in the heart of God to eternal ages. Amen.

* Brunck. Anal. t. ii. p. 342.

END OF VOL. I.

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